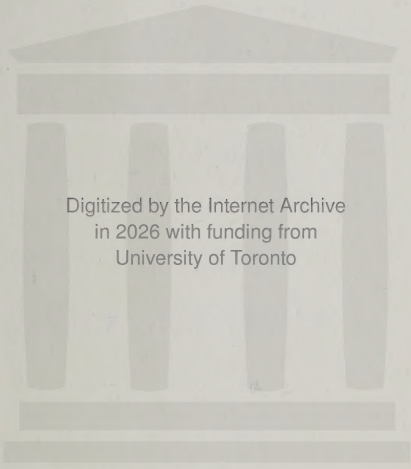
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
3 1761 00780088 1


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026 with funding from
University of Toronto

https://archive.org/details/untothislastmune0000rusk

The World's Classics

THE
WORKS OF RUSKIN

"UNTO THIS LAST"
MUNERA PULVERIS

RUSKIN HOUSE EDITION

*

JOHN RUSKIN

Born: London . . . February 8, 1819
Died: Coniston . . . January 20, 1900

THE WORKS OF RUSKIN

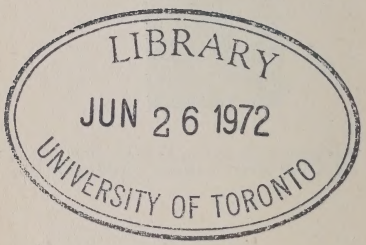
"UNTO THIS LAST"

MUNERA PULVERIS

Printed by arrangement with Messrs. George Allen & Unwin Ltd.
Ruskin House, 40 Museum Street, London, W.C. 1

HUMPHREY MILFORD
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON, EDINBURGH, GLASGOW, NEW YORK
TORONTO, MELBOURNE, CAPE TOWN, BOMBAY
1923

HB
161
R95
1923
cop. 2



Printed in Great Britain by
UNWIN BROTHERS, LIMITED, LONDON AND WOKING

"UNTO THIS LAST"

"FRIEND, I DO THEE NO WRONG. DIDST NOT THOU AGREE WITH ME FOR A PENNY? TAKE THAT THINE IS, AND GO THY WAY. I WILL GIVE UNTO THIS LAST EVEN AS UNTO THEE."

"IF YE THINK GOOD, GIVE ME MY PRICE; AND IF NOT, FORBEAR. SO THEY WEIGHED FOR MY PRICE THIRTY PIECES OF SILVER."

"UNTO THIS LAST"

FOUR ESSAYS

ON THE FIRST PRINCIPLES OF

POLITICAL ECONOMY

BY

JOHN RUSKIN

[*Bibliographical Note.—The four chapters of "Unto this Last" first appeared in the "Cornhill Magazine" in the last four months of 1860. Further papers had been intended by Ruskin, but the storm of indignation in the public press was such that Thackeray, then the editor of the "Cornhill," declined to admit any further contributions by Ruskin on political economy. Ruskin, who regarded these papers as the most important of his writings, reprinted them in a small volume eighteen months later (June, 1862), and although no further edition appeared till 1877, his judgment of the book's value has been supported by the numerous issues that have been called for during the last forty-six years, 1877–1923, the present issue being that of the 185th thousand of the work.*]

CONTENTS

ESSAY		PAGE
I.	The Roots of Honour	19
II.	The Veins of Wealth	41
III.	Qui Judicatis Terram	58
IV.	Ad Valorem	80

PREFACE

1. THE four following essays were published eighteen months ago in the *Cornhill Magazine*, and were reprobated in a violent manner, as far as I could hear, by most of the readers they met with.

Not a whit the less, I believe them to be the best, that is to say, the truest, rightest-worded, and most serviceable things I have ever written; and the last of them, having had especial pains spent on it, is probably the best I shall ever write.

"This," the reader may reply, "it might be, yet not therefore well written." Which, in no mock humility, admitting, I yet rest satisfied with the work, though with nothing else that I have done; and purposing shortly to follow out the subjects opened in these papers, as I may find leisure, I wish the introductory statements to be within the reach of any one who may care to refer to them. So I republish the essays as they appeared. One word only is changed, correcting the estimate of a weight;[1] and no word is added.[2]

[1] [See below, § 48, where "seventeen" was originally "thirteen."]

[2] *Note to Second Edition.—An addition is made to the note in the Fourteenth page* [in this edition, § 5] of the preface of this book; which, being the [illegible] precious, in its essential

2. Although, however, I find nothing to modify in these papers, it is matter of regret to me that the most startling of all the statements in them, —that respecting the necessity of the organisation of labour, with fixed wages,—should have found its way into the first essay; it being quite one of the least important, though by no means the least certain, of the positions to be defended. The real gist of these papers, their central meaning and aim, is to give, as I believe for the first time in plain English,—it has often been incidentally given in good Greek by Plato and Xenophon, and good Latin by Cicero and Horace, —a logical definition of WEALTH: such definition being absolutely needed for a basis of economical science. The most reputed essay on that subject which has appeared in modern times, after opening with the statement that "writers on political economy profess to teach, or to investigate,[1] the nature of wealth," thus follows up the declaration of its thesis—"Every one has a notion, sufficiently correct for common purposes, of what is meant by wealth." . . . "It is no part of the design of this treatise to aim at metaphysical nicety of definition."[2]

3. Metaphysical nicety, we assuredly do not need; but physical nicety, and logical accuracy, with respect to a physical subject, we as assuredly do.

contents, of all that I have ever written, I reprint word for word and page for page, after that addition, and make as accessible as I can, to all.

[1] Which? for where investigation is necessary, teaching is impossible.

[2] *Principles of Political Economy*. By J. S. Mill. Preliminary remarks, p. 2.

Suppose the subject of inquiry, instead of being House-law (*Oikonomia*), had been Star-law (*Astronomia*), and that, ignoring distinction between stars fixed and wandering, as here between wealth radiant and wealth reflective, the writer had begun thus: "Every one has a notion, sufficiently correct for common purposes, of what is meant by stars. Metaphysical nicety in the definition of a star is not the object of this treatise";—the essay so opened might yet have been far more true in its final statements, and a thousand-fold more serviceable to the navigator, than any treatise on wealth, which founds its conclusions on the popular conception of wealth, can ever become to the economist.

4. It was, therefore, the first object of these following papers to give an accurate and stable definition of wealth. Their second object was to show that the acquisition of wealth was finally possible only under certain moral conditions of society, of which quite the first was a belief in the existence, and even, for practical purposes, in the attainability of honesty.

Without venturing to pronounce—since on such a matter human judgment is by no means conclusive—what is, or is not, the noblest of God's works, we may yet admit so much of Pope's assertion as that an honest man is among His best works presently visible, and, as things stand, a somewhat rare one; but not an incredible or miraculous work; still less an abnormal one. Honesty is not a disturbing force, which deranges the orbits of economy; but a consistent and commanding force, by obedience to which—and

by no other obedience—those orbits can continue clear of chaos.

5. It is true, I have sometimes heard Pope condemned for the lowness, instead of the height, of his standard :—"Honesty is indeed a respectable virtue; but how much higher may men attain. Shall nothing more be asked of us than that we be honest?"

For the present, good friends, nothing. It seems that in our aspirations to be more than that, we have to some extent lost sight of the propriety of being so much as that. What else we may have lost faith in, there shall be here no question; but assuredly we have lost faith in common honesty, and in the working power of it. And this faith, with the facts on which it may rest, it is quite our first business to recover and keep: not only believing, but even by experience assuring ourselves, that there are yet in the world men who can be restrained from fraud otherwise than by the fear of losing employment;[1] nay, that it is even accurately in

[1] "The effectual discipline which is exercised over a workman is not that of his corporation, but of his customers. It is the fear of losing their employment which restrains his frauds, and corrects his negligence." (*Wealth of Nations*, Book I. chap. 10.)

Note to Second Edition.—The only addition I will make to the words of this book shall be a very earnest request to any Christian reader to think within himself what an entirely damned state of soul any human creature must have got into, who could read with acceptance such a sentence as this: much more write it; and to oppose to it, the first commercial words of Venice, discovered by me in her first church:—

"Around this temple, let the Merchant's law be just, his weights true, and his contracts guileless."

If any of my present readers think that my language in this note is either intemperate, or unbecoming, I will beg them to read with attention the Eighteenth paragraph of *Sesame and*

proportion to the number of such men in any State, that the said State does or can prolong its existence.

To these two points, then, the following essays are mainly directed. The subject of the organisation of labour is only casually touched upon; because, if we once can get a sufficient quantity of honesty in our captains, the organisation of labour is easy, and will develop itself without quarrel or difficulty; but if we cannot get honesty in our captains, the organisation of labour is for evermore impossible.

6. The several conditions of its possibility I purpose to examine at length in the sequel. Yet, lest the reader should be alarmed by the hints thrown out during the following investigation of first principles, as if they were leading him into unexpectedly dangerous ground, I will, for his better assurance, state at once the worst of the political creed at which I wish him to arrive.

(1.) First,—that there should be training schools for youth established, at Government cost,[1] and under Government discipline, over the whole

Lilies, and to be assured that I never, myself, now use, in writing, any word which is not, in my deliberate judgment, the fittest for the occasion.

VENICE,
Sunday, 18*th March*, 1877.

[1] It will probably be inquired by near-sighted persons, out of what funds such schools could be supported. The expedient modes of direct provision for them I will examine hereafter; indirectly, they would be far more than self-supporting. The economy in crime alone, (quite one of the most costly articles of luxury in the modern European market,) which such schools would induce, would suffice to support them ten times over. Their economy of labour would be pure gain, and that too large to be presently calculable.

country; that every child born in the countr should, at the parent's wish, be permitted (and in certain cases, be under penalty required) t pass through them; and that, in these schools the child should (with other minor pieces c knowledge hereafter to be considered) impera tively be taught, with the best skill of teachin that the country could produce, the followin three things:—

(*a*) The laws of health, and the exercises enjoined by them;

(*b*) Habits of gentleness and justice; and

(*c*) The calling by which he is to live.

(2.) Secondly,—that, in connection with these training schools, there should be established, also entirely under Government regulation, manufactories and workshops for the production and sale of every necessary of life, and for the exercise of every useful art. And that, interfering no whit with private enterprise, nor setting any restraints or tax on private trade, but leaving both to do their best, and beat the Government if they could,—there should, at these Government manufactories and shops, be authoritatively good and exemplary work done, and pure and true substance sold; so that a man could be sure, if he chose to pay the Government price, that he got for his money bread that was bread, ale that was ale, and work that was work.

(3.) Thirdly,—that any man, or woman, or boy, or girl, out of employment, should be at once received at the nearest Government school, and set to such work as it appeared, on trial, they were fit for, at a fixed rate of wages determinable every year;—that, being found incapable of work

through ignorance, they should be taught, or being found incapable of work through sickness, should be tended; but that being found objecting to work, they should be set, under compulsion of the strictest nature, to the more painful and degrading forms of necessary toil, especially to that in mines and other places of danger (such danger being, however, diminished to the utmost by careful regulation and discipline), and the due wages of such work be retained, cost of compulsion first abstracted—to be at the workman's command, so soon as he has come to sounder mind respecting the laws of employment.

(4.) Lastly,—that for the old and destitute, comfort and home should be provided; which provision, when misfortune had been by the working of such a system sifted from guilt, would be honourable instead of disgraceful to the receiver. For (I repeat this passage out of my *Political Economy of Art*, to which the reader is referred for farther detail [1]) "a labourer serves his country with his spade, just as a man in the middle ranks of life serves it with sword, pen, or lancet. If the service be less, and, therefore, the wages during health less, then the reward when health is broken may be less, but not less honourable; and it ought to be quite as natural and straightforward a matter for a labourer to take his pension from his parish, because he has deserved well of his parish, as for a man in higher rank to take his pension from his country, because he has deserved well of his country."

To which statement, I will only add, for conclusion, respecting the discipline and pay of life

[1] Now *A Joy for Ever*, § 143.

and death, that, for both high and low, Livy's last words touching Valerius Publicola, "*de publico est elatus*," [1] ought not to be a dishonourable close of epitaph.

7. These things, then, I believe, and am about, as I find power, to explain and illustrate in their various bearings; following out also what belongs to them of collateral inquiry. Here I state them only in brief, to prevent the reader casting about in alarm for my ultimate meaning; yet requesting him, for the present, to remember, that in a science dealing with so subtle elements as those of human nature, it is only possible to answer for the final truth of principles, not for the direct success of plans: and that in the best of these last, what can be immediately accomplished is always questionable, and what can be finally accomplished, inconceivable.

DENMARK HILL,
10th May, 1862.

[1] P. Valerius, omnium consensu princeps belli pacisque artibus, anno post moritur; gloriâ ingenti, copiis familiaribus adeo exiguis, ut funeri sumtus deesset: de publico est elatus. Luxêre matronæ ut Brutum."—Lib. ii. c. xvi.

"UNTO THIS LAST"

ESSAY I

THE ROOTS OF HONOUR

1. Among the delusions which at different periods have possessed themselves of the minds of large masses of the human race, perhaps the most curious — certainly the least creditable — is the modern *soi-disant* science of political economy, based on the idea that an advantageous code of social action may be determined irrespectively of the influence of social affection.

Of course, as in the instances of alchemy, astrology, witchcraft, and other such popular creeds, political economy has a plausible idea at the root of it. "The social affections," says the economist, "are accidental and disturbing elements in human nature; but avarice and the desire of progress are constant elements. Let us eliminate the inconstants, and, considering the human being merely as a covetous machine, examine by what laws of labour, purchase, and sale, the greatest accumulative result in wealth is obtainable. Those laws once determined, it will be for each individual afterwards to introduce as much of the disturbing affectionate element

as he chooses, and to determine for himself the result on the new conditions supposed."

2. This would be a perfectly logical and successful method of analysis, if the accidentals afterwards to be introduced were of the same nature as the powers first examined. Supposing a body in motion to be influenced by constant and inconstant forces, it is usually the simplest way of examining its course to trace it first under the persistent conditions, and afterwards introduce the causes of variation. But the disturbing elements in the social problem are not of the same nature as the constant ones: they alter the essence of the creature under examination the moment they are added; they operate, not mathematically, but chemically, introducing conditions which render all our previous knowledge unavailable. We made learned experiments upon pure nitrogen, and have convinced ourselves that it is a very manageable gas: but, behold! the thing which we have practically to deal with is its chloride; and this, the moment we touch it on our established principles, sends us and our apparatus through the ceiling.

3. Observe, I neither impugn nor doubt the conclusion of the science if its terms are accepted. I am simply uninterested in them, as I should be in those of a science of gymnastics which assumed that men had no skeletons. It might be shown, on that supposition, that it would be advantageous to roll the students up into pellets, flatten them into cakes, or stretch them into cables; and that when these results were effected, the re-insertion of the skeleton would be attended with various inconveniences to their constitution.

The reasoning might be admirable, the conclusions true, and the science deficient only in applicability. Modern political economy stands on a precisely similar basis. Assuming, not that the human being has no skeleton, but that it is all skeleton, it founds an ossifiant theory of progress on this negation of a soul; and having shown the utmost that may be made of bones, and constructed a number of interesting geometrical figures with death's-head and humeri, successfully proves the inconvenience of the reappearance of a soul among these corpuscular structures. I do not deny the truth of this theory: I simply deny its applicability to the present phase of the world.

4. This inapplicability has been curiously manifested during the embarrassment caused by the late strikes of our workmen. Here occurs one of the simplest cases, in a pertinent and positive form, of the first vital problem which political economy has to deal with (the relation between employer and employed); and, at a severe crisis, when lives in multitudes and wealth in masses are at stake, the political economists are helpless—practically mute: no demonstrable solution of the difficulty can be given by them, such as may convince or calm the opposing parties. Obstinately the masters take one view of the matter; obstinately the operatives another; and no political science can set them at one.

5. It would be strange if it could, it being not by "science" of any kind that men were ever intended to be set at one. Disputant after disputant vainly strives to show that the interests of the masters are, or are not, antagonistic to

those of the men: none of the pleaders ever seeming to remember that it does not absolutely or always follow that the persons must be antagonistic because their interests are. If there is only a crust of bread in the house, and mother and children are starving, their interests are not the same. If the mother eats it, the children want it; if the children eat it, the mother must go hungry to her work. Yet it does not necessarily follow that there will be "antagonism" between them, that they will fight for the crust, and that the mother, being strongest, will get it, and eat it. Neither, in any other case, whatever the relations of the persons may be, can it be assumed for certain that, because their interests are diverse, they must necessarily regard each other with hostility, and use violence or cunning to obtain the advantage.

6. Even if this were so, and it were as just as it is convenient to consider men as actuated by no other moral influences than those which affect rats or swine, the logical conditions of the question are still indeterminable. It can never be shown generally either that the interests of master and labourer are alike, or that they are opposed; for, according to circumstances, they may be either. It is, indeed, always the interest of both that the work should be rightly done, and a just price obtained for it; but, in the division of profits, the gain of the one may or may not be the loss of the other. It is not the master's interest to pay wages so low as to leave the men sickly and depressed, nor the workman's interest to be paid high wages if the smallness of the master's profit hinders him from enlarging his

business, or conducting it in a safe and liberal way. A stoker ought not to desire high pay if the company is too poor to keep the engine-wheels in repair.

7. And the varieties of circumstance which influence these reciprocal interests are so endless, that all endeavour to deduce rules of action from balance of expediency is in vain. And it is meant to be in vain. For no human actions ever were intended by the Maker of men to be guided by balances of expediency, but by balances of justice. He has therefore rendered all endeavours to determine expediency futile for evermore. No man ever knew, or can know, what will be the ultimate result to himself, or to others, of any given line of conduct. But every man may know, and most of us do know, what is just and unjust act. And all of us may know also, that the consequences of justice will be ultimately the best possible, both to others and ourselves, though we can neither say what *is* best, or how it is likely to come to pass.

I have said balances of justice, meaning, in the term justice, to include affection,—such affection as one man *owes* to another. All right relations between master and operative, and all their best interests, ultimately depend on these.

8. We shall find the best and simplest illustration of the relations of master and operative in the position of domestic servants.

We will suppose that the master of a household desires only to get as much work out of his servants as he can, at the rate of wages he gives. He never allows them to be idle; feeds them as poorly and lodges them as ill as they will

endure, and in all things pushes his requirement to the exact point beyond which he cannot g without forcing the servant to leave him. I doing this, there is no violation on his part o what is commonly called "justice." He agree with the domestic for his whole time and ser vice, and takes them;—the limits of hardship i treatment being fixed by the practice of othe masters in his neighbourhood; that is to say by the current rate of wages for domestic labour If the servant can get a better place, he is fre to take one, and the master can only tell wha is the real market value of his labour, by requirin as much as he will give.

This is the politico-economical view of th case, according to the doctors of that science who assert that by this procedure the greates average of work will be obtained from the servant and therefore the greatest benefit to the commu nity, and through the community, by reversion to the servant himself.

That, however, is not so. It would be so the servant were an engine of which the motiv power was steam, magnetism, gravitation, c any other agent of calculable force. But h being, on the contrary, an engine whose motiv power is a Soul, the force of this very peculia agent, as an unknown quantity, enters into a the political economist's equations, without h knowledge, and falsifies every one of their result The largest quantity of work will not be dor by this curious engine for pay, or under pressur or by help of any kind of fuel which may be sup plied by the chaldron. It will be done only whe the motive force, that is to say, the will or spir

f the creature, is brought to its greatest strength
y its own proper fuel : namely, by the affections.
9. It may indeed happen, and does happen
ften, that if the master is a man of sense and
nergy, a large quantity of material work may
e done under mechanical pressure, enforced by
rong will and guided by wise method ; also
may happen, and does happen often, that if
ne master is indolent and weak (however good
atured), a very small quantity of work, and that
ad, may be produced by the servant's undirected
rength, and contemptuous gratitude. But the
niversal law of the matter is that, assuming any
ven quantity of energy and sense in master and
rvant, the greatest material result obtainable
y them will be, not through antagonism to
ach other, but through affection for each other ;
nd that, if the master, instead of endeavouring
get as much work as possible from the servant,
eks rather to render his appointed and neces-
ry work beneficial to him, and to forward his
terests in all just and wholesome ways, the real
mount of work ultimately done, or of good
ndered, by the person so cared for, will indeed
e the greatest possible.

Observe, I say, "of good rendered," for a
rvant's work is not necessarily or always the
st thing he can give his master. But good of
l kinds, whether in material service, in pro-
ctive watchfulness of his master's interest and
redit, or in joyful readiness to seize unexpected
nd irregular occasions of help.

Nor is this one whit less generally true because
dulgence will be frequently abused, and kind-
ss met with ingratitude. For the servant who,

gently treated, is ungrateful, treated unger
will be revengeful; and the man who is
honest to a liberal master will be injurious to
unjust one.

10. In any case, and with any person,
unselfish treatment will produce the most ef
tive return. Observe, I am here considering
affections wholly as a motive power; not at
as things in themselves desirable or noble, o
any other way abstractedly good, I look at th
simply as an anomalous force, rendering every
of the ordinary political economist's calculati
nugatory; while, even if he desired to introd
this new element into his estimates, he has
power of dealing with it; for the affections o
become a true motive power when they ign
every other motive and condition of politi
economy. Treat the servant kindly, with
idea of turning his gratitude to account, and y
will get, as you deserve, no gratitude, nor a
value for your kindness; but treat him kin
without any economical purpose, and all e
nomical purposes will be answered; in this,
in all other matters, whosoever will save his
shall lose it, whoso loses it shall find it.[1]

[1] The difference between the two modes of treatment, a
between their effective material results, may be seen very ac
rately by a comparison of the relations of Esther and Cha
in *Bleak House*, with those of Miss Brass and the Marchion
in *Master Humphrey's Clock*.

The essential value and truth of Dickens's writings have be
unwisely lost sight of by many thoughtful persons, merely
cause he presents his truth with some colour of caricatu
Unwisely, because Dickens's caricature, though often gross,
never mistaken. Allowing for his manner of telling them, t
things he tells us are always true. I wish that he could thi
it right to limit his brilliant exaggeration to works written or
for public amusement; and when he takes up a subject of hi

11. The next clearest and simplest example of lation between master and operative is that nich exists between the commander of a regi- ent and his men.

Supposing the officer only desires to apply the les of discipline so as, with least trouble to mself, to make the regiment most effective, he ill not be able, by any rules or administration rules, on this selfish principle, to develop the ll strength of his subordinates. If a man of nse and firmness, he may, as in the former stance, produce a better result than would be btained by the irregular kindness of a weak ficer; but let the sense and firmness be the me in both cases, and assuredly the officer who as the most direct personal relations with his en, the most care for their interests, and the ost value for their lives, will develop their effec- ve strength, through their affection for his own erson, and trust in his character, to a degree holly unattainable by other means. This law

ational importance, such as that which he handled in *Hard Times*, that he would use severer and more accurate analysis. he usefulness of that work (to my mind, in several respects ie greatest he has written) is with many persons seriously iminished because Mr. Bounderby is a dramatic monster, stead of a characteristic example of a worldly master; and tephen Blackpool a dramatic perfection, instead of a charac- eristic example of an honest workman. But let us not lose the se of Dickens's wit and insight, because he chooses to speak a circle of stage fire. He is entirely right in his main drift nd purpose in every book he has written; and all of them, ut especially *Hard Times*, should be studied with close and arnest care by persons interested in social questions. They ill find much that is partial, and, because partial, apparently njust; but if they examine all the evidence on the other side, hich Dickens seems to overlook, it will appear, after all their rouble, that his view was the finally right one, grossly and harply told.

applies still more stringently as the numbers co
cerned are larger: a charge may often be su
cessful, though the men dislike their officers;
battle has rarely been won, unless they lov
their general.

12. Passing from these simple examples to t
more complicated relations existing between
manufacturer and his workmen, we are met fi
by certain curious difficulties, resulting, app
rently, from a harder and colder state of mo
elements. It is easy to imagine an enthusias
affection existing among soldiers for the colon
Not so easy to imagine an enthusiastic affecti
among cotton-spinners for the proprietor of t
mill. A body of men associated for purposes
robbery (as a Highland clan in ancient tim
shall be animated by perfect affection, and eve
member of it be ready to lay down his life
the life of his chief. But a band of men ass
ciated for purposes of legal production and
cumulation is usually animated, it appears, by
such emotions, and none of them are in any w
willing to give his life for the life of his chief. N
only are we met by this apparent anomaly,
moral matters, but by others connected with
in administration of system. For a servant o
soldier is engaged at a definite rate of wages,
a definite period; but a workman at a rate
wages variable according to the demand for labo
and with the risk of being at any time thrown
of his situation by chances of trade. Now,
under these contingencies, no action of the aff
tions can take place, but only an explosive acti
of *dis*affections, two points offer themselves
consideration in the matter.

The first—How far the rate of wages may be regulated as not to vary with the demand for our.

The second—How far it is possible that bodies workmen may be engaged and maintained at h fixed rate of wages (whatever the state of de may be), without enlarging or diminishing ir number, so as to give them permanent in- est in the establishment with which they are nected, like that of the domestic servants in old family, or an *esprit de corps*, like that of soldiers in a crack regiment.

3. The first question is, I say, how far it may possible to fix the rate of wages, irrespectively the demand for labour.

Perhaps one of the most curious facts in the tory of human error is the denial by the com- n political economist of the possibility of thus ulating wages; while, for all the important, l much of the unimportant, labour, on the th, wages are already so regulated.

We do not sell our prime-ministership by Dutch tion; nor, on the decease of a bishop, what- r may be the general advantages of simony, we (yet) offer his diocese to the clergyman who l take the episcopacy at the lowest contract. (with exquisite sagacity of political economy !) indeed sell commissions; but not openly, eralships: sick, we do not inquire for a physi- n who takes less than a guinea; litigious, we ver think of reducing six-and-eightpence to r-and-sixpence; caught in a shower, we do canvass the cabmen, to find one who values driving at less than sixpence a mile.

It is true that in all these cases there is, and in

every conceivable case there must be, ultir
reference to the presumed difficulty of the w
or number of candidates for the office. If it
thought that the labour necessary to make a g
physician would be gone through by a suffic
number of students with the prospect of
half-guinea fees, public consent would soon w
draw the unnecessary half-guinea. In this
mate sense, the price of labour is indeed alw
regulated by the demand for it; but, so fa
the practical and immediate administration of
matter is regarded, the best labour always
been, and is, as *all* labour ought to be, paid by
invariable standard.

14. "What!" the reader perhaps answ
amazedly: "pay good and bad workmen alike
Certainly. The difference between one prela
sermons and his successor's—or between
physician's opinion and another's,—is far grea
as respects the qualities of mind involved,
far more important in result to you persona
than the difference between good and bad lay
of bricks (though that is greater than most pe
suppose). Yet you pay with equal fee, con
tedly, the good and bad workmen upon y
soul, and the good and bad workmen upon y
body; much more may you pay, contente
with equal fees, the good and bad workmen u
your house.

"Nay, but I choose my physician, and (?)
clergyman, thus indicating my sense of the qua
of their work." By all means, also, choose y
bricklayer; that is the proper reward of the g
workman, to be "chosen." The natural
right system respecting all labour is, that it sho

paid at a fixed rate, but the good workman
ployed, and the bad workman unemployed.
e false, unnatural, and destructive system is
en the bad workman is allowed to offer his
rk at half-price, and either take the place of
good, or force him by his competition to work
an inadequate sum.

5. This equality of wages, then, being the first
ect towards which we have to discover the
ctest available road, the second is, as above
ed, that of maintaining constant numbers of
kmen in employment, whatever may be the
idental demand for the article they produce.
believe the sudden and extensive inequalities
demand, which necessarily arise in the mer-
tile operations of an active nation, constitute
only essential difficulty which has to be over-
ne in a just organisation of labour.

he subject opens into too many branches to
nit of being investigated in a paper of this
d; but the following general facts bearing on
ay be noted.

he wages which enable any workman to live
necessarily higher, if his work is liable to inter-
sion, than if it is assured and continuous; and
ever severe the struggle for work may become,
general law will always hold, that men must
more daily pay if, on the average, they can
calculate on work three days a week than
would require if they were sure of work six
s a week. Supposing that a man cannot live
less than a shilling a day, his seven shillings
nust get, either for three days' violent work,
ix days' deliberate work. The tendency of
nodern mercantile operations is to throw both

wages and trade into the form of a lottery, and make the workman's pay depend on intermitt exertion, and the principal's profit on dexterou used chance.

16. In what partial degree, I repeat, this r be necessary in consequence of the activities modern trade, I do not here investigate; conte ing myself with the fact that in its fatallest aspe it is assuredly unnecessary, and results me from love of gambling on the part of the mast and from ignorance and sensuality in the n The masters cannot bear to let any opportunit gain escape them, and frantically rush at ev gap and breach in the walls of Fortune, raging be rich, and affronting, with impatient covet ness, every risk of ruin, while the men prefer th days of violent labour, and three days of drunk ness, to six days of moderate work and v rest. There is no way in which a principal, v really desires to help his workmen, may do more effectually than by checking these disord habits both in himself and them; keeping own business operations on a scale which enable him to pursue them securely, not yield to temptations of precarious gain; and at same time, leading his workmen into regular ha of labour and life, either by inducing them ra to take low wages, in the form of a fixed sal than high wages, subject to the chance of t being thrown out of work; or, if this be possible, by discouraging the system of vio exertion for nominally high day wages, and lea the men to take lower pay for more regular lab

In effecting any radical changes of this k doubtless there would be great inconvenience

ss incurred by all the originators of the move-
ent. That which can be done with perfect
nvenience and without loss, is not always the
ing that most needs to be done, or which we
e most imperatively required to do.

17. I have already alluded to the difference
itherto existing between regiments of men
ssociated for purposes of violence, and for
urposes of manufacture; in that the former
ppear capable of self-sacrifice—the latter, not;
hich singular fact is the real reason of the
eneral lowness of estimate in which the profession
f commerce is held, as compared with that of
rms. Philosophically, it does not, at first sight,
ppear reasonable (many writers have endeavoured
o prove it unreasonable) that a peaceable and
ational person, whose trade is buying and selling,
ould be held in less honour than an unpeace-
ble and often irrational person, whose trade is
aying. Nevertheless, the consent of mankind
as always, in spite of the philosophers, given
recedence to the soldier.

And this is right.

For the soldier's trade, verily and essentially,
not slaying, but being slain. This, without
ell knowing its own meaning, the world honours
for. A bravo's trade is slaying; but the
orld has never respected bravos more than
erchants: the reason it honours the soldier is,
ecause he holds his life at the service of the
tate. Reckless he may be—fond of pleasure
r of adventure—all kinds of bye-motives and
ean impulses may have determined the choice
f his profession, and may affect (to all appear-
nce exclusively) his daily conduct in it; but our

estimate of him is based on this ultimate fact- of which we are well assured—that put him i a fortress breach, with all the pleasures of th world behind him, and only death and his dut in front of him, he will keep his face to the front and he knows that his choice may be put t him at any moment—and has beforehand take his part—virtually takes such part continually- does, in reality, die daily.

18. Not less is the respect we pay to the lawye and physician, founded ultimately on their sel sacrifice. Whatever the learning or acuteness o a great lawyer, our chief respect for him depend on our belief that, set in a judge's seat, he wi strive to judge justly, come of it what may Could we suppose that he would take bribes, an use his acuteness and legal knowledge to giv plausibility to iniquitous decisions, no degree o intellect would win for him our respect. Nothin will win it, short of our tacit conviction, that i all important acts of his life justice is first wit him; his own interest, second.

In the case of a physician, the ground of th honour we render him is clearer still. What ever his science, we would shrink from him i horror if we found him regard his patients merel as subjects to experiment upon; much more if we found that, receiving bribes from person interested in their deaths, he was using his bes skill to give poison in the mask of medicine.

Finally, the principle holds with utmost clear ness as it respects clergymen. No goodness o disposition will excuse want of science in a physi cian, or of shrewdness in an advocate; but clergyman, even though his power of intellec

small, is respected on the presumed ground of
s unselfishness and serviceableness.

19. Now, there can be no question but that
ıe tact, foresight, decision, and other mental
›wers, required for the successful management
a large mercantile concern, if not such as
›uld be compared with those of a great lawyer,
eneral, or divine, would at least match the
eneral conditions of mind required in the sub-
rdinate officers of a ship, or of a regiment, or
the curate of a country parish. If, therefore,
l the efficient members of the so-called liberal
rofessions are still, somehow, in public estimate
honour, preferred before the head of a com-
ıercial firm, the reason must lie deeper than in
ıe measurement of their several powers of mind.

And the essential reason for such preference
ill be found to lie in the fact that the merchant
presumed to act always selfishly. His work
ıay be very necessary to the community; but
ıe motive of it is understood to be wholly per-
›nal. The merchant's first object in all his deal-
ıgs must be (the public believe) to get as much
›r himself, and leave as little to his neighbour
›r customer) as possible. Enforcing this upon
im, by political statute, as the necessary principle
his action; recommending it to him on all
ccasions, and themselves reciprocally adopting
, proclaiming vociferously, for law of the uni-
erse, that a buyer's function is to cheapen, and
seller's to cheat,—the public, nevertheless, in-
oluntarily condemn the man of commerce for
is compliance with their own statement, and
tamp him for ever as belonging to an inferior
rade of human personality.

20. This they will find, eventually, they mu
give up doing. They must not cease to conden
selfishness; but they will have to discover
kind of commerce which is not exclusively selfis
Or, rather, they will have to discover that the
never was, or can be, any other kind of cor
merce; that this which they have called commer
was not commerce at all, but cozening; and th
a true merchant differs as much from a mercha
according to laws of modern political econom
as the hero of the *Excursion* from Autolycu
They will find that commerce is an occupatic
which gentlemen will every day see more nee
to engage in, rather than in the businesses
talking to men, or slaying them; that, in tru
commerce, as in true preaching, or true fightin
it is necessary to admit the idea of occasiona
voluntary loss;—that sixpences have to be los
as well as lives, under a sense of duty; that th
market may have its martyrdoms as well as th
pulpit; and trade its heroisms as well as war.

May have—in the final issue, must have—an
only has not had yet, because men of heroic tempe
have always been misguided in their youth int
other fields; not recognising what is in our days
perhaps, the most important of all fields; so that
while many a zealous person loses his life in try
ing to teach the form of a gospel, very few wil
lose a hundred pounds in showing the practic
of one.

21. The fact is, that people never have had
clearly explained to them the true functions of a
merchant with respect to other people. I should
like the reader to be very clear about this.

Five great intellectual professions, relating to

ily necessities of life, have hitherto existed—
ree exist necessarily, in every civilised nation:
The Soldier's profession is to *defend* it.
The Pastor's to *teach* it.
The Physician's to *keep it in health.*
The Lawyer's to *enforce justice* in it.
The Merchant's to *provide* for it.
nd the duty of all these men is, on due occasion,
die for it.
"On due occasion," namely:—
The Soldier, rather than leave his post in battle.
The Physician, rather than leave his post in
ague.
The Pastor, rather than teach Falsehood.
The Lawyer, rather than countenance Injustice.
The Merchant—what is *his* "due occasion" of
eath?

22. It is the main question for the merchant, as
r all of us. For, truly, the man who does not
now when to die, does not know how to live.

Observe, the merchant's function (or manu-
cturer's, for in the broad sense in which it is
ere used the word must be understood to include
oth) is to provide for the nation. It is no more
is function to get profit for himself out of that
rovision than it is a clergyman's function to get
is stipend. This stipend is a due and necessary
djunct, but not the object of his life, if he be a
ue clergyman, any more than his fee (or honora-
um) is the object of life to a true physician.
either is his fee the object of life to a true
erchant. All three, if true men, have a work
be done irrespective of fee—to be done even at
ny cost, or for quite the contrary of fee; the
astor's function being to teach, the physician's

to heal, and the merchant's, as I have said, provide. That is to say, he has to understa to their very root the qualities of the thing deals in, and the means of obtaining or produci it; and he has to apply all his sagacity and ener to the producing or obtaining it in perfect sta and distributing it at the cheapest possible pr where it is most needed.

And because the production or obtaining any commodity involves necessarily the agen of many lives and hands, the merchant becom in the course of his business the master a governor of large masses of men in a more dire though less confessed way, than a military offi or pastor; so that on him falls, in great part, t responsibility for the kind of life they lead: a it becomes his duty, not only to be always co sidering how to produce what he sells, in t purest and cheapest forms, but how to make t various employments involved in the productio or transference of it, most beneficial to the m employed.

23. And as into these two functions, requiri for their right exercise the highest intelligence, well as patience, kindness, and tact, the mercha is bound to put all his energy, so for their ju discharge he is bound, as soldier or physician bound, to give up, if need be, his life, in such wa as it may be demanded of him. Two main poin he has in his providing function to maintain first, his engagements (faithfulness to engag ments being the real root of all possibilities, commerce); and, secondly, the perfectness ar purity of the thing provided; so that, rath than fail in any engagement, or consent to ar

leterioration, adulteration, or unjust and exorbi-ant price of that which he provides, he is bound o meet fearlessly any form of distress, poverty, or abour, which may, through maintenance of these points, come upon him.

24. Again: in his office as governor of the men mployed by him, the merchant or manufacturer s invested with a distinctly paternal authority nd responsibility. In most cases, a youth en-ering a commercial establishment is withdrawn ltogether from home influence; his master must become his father, else he has, for practical and constant help, no father at hand: in all cases he master's authority, together with the general one and atmosphere of his business, and the character of the men with whom the youth is compelled in the course of it to associate, have more immediate and pressing weight than the home influence, and will usually neutralise it either for good or evil; so that the only means which the master has of doing justice to the men employed by him is to ask himself sternly whether he is dealing with such subordinate as he would with his own son, if compelled by circumstances to take such a position.

Supposing the captain of a frigate saw it right, or were by any chance obliged, to place his own son in the position of a common sailor: as he would then treat his son, he is bound always to treat every one of the men under him. So, also, supposing the master of a manufactory saw it right, or were by any chance obliged, to place his own son in the position of an ordinary workman; as he would then treat his son, he is bound always to treat every one of his men. This is the only

effective, true, or practical RULE which can
given on this point of political economy.

And as the captain of a ship is bound to be t
last man to leave his ship in case of wreck, a
to share his last crust with the sailors in case
famine, so the manufacturer, in any commerc
crisis or distress, is bound to take the suffering
it with his men, and even to take more of it
himself than he allows his men to feel; as a fath
would in a famine, shipwreck, or battle, sacrifi
himself for his son.

25. All which sounds very strange: the on
real strangeness in the matter being, neverthele
that it should so sound. For all this is tru
and that not partially nor theoretically, but eve
lastingly and practically: all other doctrine tha
this respecting matters political being false
premises, absurd in deduction, and impossible
practice, consistently with any progressive sta
of national life; all the life which we now posse
as a nation showing itself in the resolute deni
and scorn, by a few strong minds and faithf
hearts, of the economic principles taught to ou
multitudes, which principles, so far as accepte
lead straight to national destruction. Respectin
the modes and forms of destruction to which the
lead, and, on the other hand, respecting the fa
ther practical working of true polity, I hope t
reason farther in a following paper.

ESSAY II

THE VEINS OF WEALTH

26. THE answer which would be made by any ordinary political economist to the statements contained in the preceding paper, is in few words as follows :—

"It is indeed true that certain advantages of a general nature may be obtained by the development of social affections. But political economists never professed, nor profess, to take advantages of a general nature into consideration. Our science is simply the science of getting rich. So far from being a fallacious or visionary one, it is found by experience to be practically effective. Persons who follow its precepts do actually become rich, and persons who disobey them become poor. Every capitalist of Europe has acquired his fortune by following the known laws of our science, and increases his capital daily by an adherence to them. It is vain to bring forward tricks of logic, against the force of accomplished facts. Every man of business knows by experience how money is made, and how it is lost."

Pardon me. Men of business do indeed know how they themselves made their money, or how, on occasion, they lost it. Playing a long-practised game, they are familiar with the chances of its

cards, and can rightly explain their losses and gains. But they neither know who keeps the bank of the gambling-house, nor what other games may be played with the same cards, nor what other losses and gains, far away among the dark streets, are essentially, though invisibly dependent on theirs in the lighted rooms. They have learned a few, and only a few, of the laws of mercantile economy; but not one of those of political economy.

27. Primarily, which is very notable and curious I observe that men of business rarely know the meaning of the word "rich." At least, if they know, they do not in their reasonings allow for the fact, that it is a relative word, implying its opposite "poor" as positively as the word "north" implies its opposite "south." Men nearly always speak and write as if riches were absolute, and it were possible, by following certain scientific precepts, for everybody to be rich. Whereas riches are a power like that of electricity, acting only through inequalities or negations of itself. The force of the guinea you have in your pocket depends wholly on the default of a guinea in your neighbour's pocket. If he did not want it, it would be of no use to you; the degree of power it possesses depends accurately upon the need or desire he has for it,—and the art of making yourself rich, in the ordinary mercantile economist's sense, is therefore equally and necessarily the art of keeping your neighbour poor.

I would not contend in this matter (and rarely in any matter) for the acceptance of terms. But I wish the reader clearly and deeply to understand the difference between the two economies, to

which the terms "Political" and "Mercantile" might not unadvisedly be attached.

28. Political economy (the economy of a State, or of citizens) consists simply in the production, preservation, and distribution, at fittest time and place, of useful or pleasurable things. The farmer who cuts his hay at the right time; the shipwright who drives his bolts well home in sound wood; the builder who lays good bricks in well-tempered mortar; the housewife who takes care of her furniture in the parlour, and guards against all waste in her kitchen; and the singer who rightly disciplines, and never overstrains her voice, are all political economists in the true and final sense: adding continually to the riches and well-being of the nation to which they belong.

But mercantile economy, the economy of "merces" or of "pay," signifies the accumulation, in the hands of individuals, of legal or moral claim upon, or power over, the labour of others; every such claim implying precisely as much poverty or debt on one side, as it implies riches or right on the other.

It does not, therefore, necessarily involve an addition to the actual property, or well-being of the State in which it exists. But since this commercial wealth, or power over labour, is nearly always convertible at once into real property, while real property is not always convertible at once into power over labour, the idea of riches among active men in civilised nations, generally refers to commercial wealth; and in estimating their possessions, they rather calculate the value of their horses and fields by the number of guineas they could get for them, than the value of their

guineas by the number of horses and fields they could buy with them.

29. There is, however, another reason for this habit of mind: namely, that an accumulation of real property is of little use to its owner, unless together with it, he has commercial power over labour. Thus, suppose any person to be put in possession of a large estate of fruitful land, with rich beds of gold in its gravel; countless herds of cattle in its pastures; houses, and gardens, and storehouses full of useful stores: but suppose, after all, that he could get no servants? In order that he may be able to have servants, some one in his neighbourhood must be poor, and in want of his gold—or his corn. Assume that no one is in want of either, and that no servants are to be had. He must, therefore, bake his own bread, make his own clothes, plough his own ground, and shepherd his own flocks. His gold will be as useful to him as any other yellow pebbles on his estate. His stores must rot, for he cannot consume them. He can eat no more than another man could eat, and wear no more than another man could wear. He must lead a life of severe and common labour to procure even ordinary comforts; he will be ultimately unable to keep either houses in repair, or fields in cultivation; and forced to content himself with a poor man's portion of cottage and garden, in the midst of a desert of waste land, trampled by wild cattle, and encumbered by ruins of palaces, which he will hardly mock at himself by calling "his own."

30. The most covetous of mankind would, with small exultation, I presume, accept riches of this kind on these terms. What is really desired, under

he name of riches, is, essentially, power over ✓
ien; in its simplest sense, the power of obtain-
ng for our own advantage the labour of servant,
radesman, and artist; in wider sense, authority
f directing large masses of the nation to various
nds (good, trivial, or hurtful, according to the
nind of the rich person). And this power of
vealth of course is greater or less in direct pro-
portion to the poverty of the men over whom
t is exercised, and in inverse proportion to the
umber of persons who are as rich as ourselves,
nd who are ready to give the same price for an
rticle of which the supply is limited. If the
nusician is poor, he will sing for small pay, as
ong as there is only one person who can pay him;
but if there be two or three, he will sing for the one
vho offers him most. And thus the power of the
iches of the patron (always imperfect and doubt-
ul, as we shall see presently (§ 39), even when
nost authoritative) depends first on the poverty
of the artist, and then on the limitation of the
umber of equally wealthy persons, who also want
seats at the concert. So that, as above stated,
he art of becoming "rich," in the common sense,
s not absolutely nor finally the art of accumu-
ating much money for ourselves, but also of con-
riving that our neighbours shall have less. In ✓
ccurate terms, it is "the art of establishing the
naximum inequality in our own favour."

31. Now, the establishment of such inequality
annot be shown in the abstract to be either
dvantageous or disadvantageous to the body of
he nation. The rash and absurd assumption that
uch inequalities are necessarily advantageous,
ies at the root of most of the popular fallacies on

the subject of political economy. For the etern
and inevitable law in this matter is, that th
beneficialness of the inequality depends, first, o
the methods by which it was accomplished; an
secondly, on the purposes to which it is applie
Inequalities of wealth, unjustly established, hav
assuredly injured the nation in which they exi
during their establishment; and, unjustly directe
injure it yet more during their existence. Bu
inequalities of wealth, justly established, benef
the nation in the course of their establishment
and, nobly used, aid it yet more by their existenc
That is to say, among every active and wel
governed people, the various strength of ind
viduals, tested by full exertion and speciall
applied to various need, issues in unequal, bu
harmonious results, receiving reward or authorit
according to its class and service;[1] while, in th

[1] I have been naturally asked several times with respect t
the sentence in the first of these papers, "the bad workme
unemployed," "But what are you to do with your bad unem
ployed workmen?" Well, it seems to me the question migh
have occurred to you before. Your housemaid's place is vacan
—you give twenty pounds a year—two girls come for it, on
neatly dressed, the other dirtily; one with good recommenda
tions, the other with none. You do not, under these circum
stances, usually ask the dirty one if she will come for fifteen
pounds, or twelve; and, on her consenting, take her instead o
the well-recommended one. Still less do you try to beat both
down by making them bid against each other, till you can hire
both, one at twelve pounds a year, and the other at eight. You
simply take the one fittest for the place, and send away the
other, not perhaps concerning yourself quite as much as you
should with the question which you now impatiently put to me,
"What is to become of her?" For, all that I advise you to
do, is to deal with workmen as with servants; and verily the
question is of weight: "Your bad workman, idler, and rogue—
what are you to do with him?"

We will consider of this presently: remember that the ad-
ministration of a complete system of national commerce and

nactive or ill-governed nation, the gradations of lecay and the victories of treason work out also heir own rugged system of subjection and success; nd substitute, for the melodious inequalities of oncurrent power, the iniquitous dominances and lepressions of guilt and misfortune.

32. Thus the circulation of wealth in a nation esembles that of the blood in the natural body. There is one quickness of the current which comes of cheerful emotion or wholesome exercise; and nother which comes of shame or of fever. There s a flush of the body which is full of warmth nd life; and another which will pass into putre- action.

The analogy will hold down even to minute particulars. For as diseased local determination of the blood involves depression of the general health of the system, all morbid local action of iches will be found ultimately to involve a weaken- ng of the resources of the body politic.

The mode in which this is produced may be t once understood by examining one or two nstances of the development of wealth in the implest possible circumstances.

33. Suppose two sailors cast away on an

ndustry cannot be explained in full detail within the space of welve pages. Meantime, consider whether, there being con- essedly some difficulty in dealing with rogues and idlers, it nay not be advisable to produce as few of them as possible. If ou examine into the history of rogues, you will find they are s truly manufactured articles as anything else, and it is just ecause our present system of political economy gives so large stimulus to that manufacture that you may know it to be a alse one. We had better seek for a system which will develop onest men, than for one which will deal cunningly with agabonds. Let us reform our schools, and we shall find little eform needed in our prisons.

uninhabited coast, and obliged to maintain themselves there by their own labour for a series of years.

If they both kept their health, and worked steadily and in amity with each other, they might build themselves a convenient house, and in time come to possess a certain quantity of cultivated land, together with various stores laid up for future use. All these things would be real riches or property; and, supposing the men both to have worked equally hard, they would each have right to equal share or use of it. Their political economy would consist merely in careful preservation and just division of these possessions. Perhaps, however, after some time one or other might be dissatisfied with the results of their common farming; and they might in consequence agree to divide the land they had brought under the spade into equal shares, so that each might thenceforward work in his own field, and live by it. Suppose that after this arrangement had been made, one of them were to fall ill, and be unable to work on his land at a critical time—say of sowing or harvest. He would naturally ask the other to sow or reap for him.

Then his companion might say, with perfect justice, "I will do this additional work for you; but if I do it, you must promise to do as much for me at another time. I will count how many hours I spend on your ground, and you shall give me a written promise to work for the same number of hours on mine, whenever I need your help, and you are able to give it."

34. Suppose the disabled man's sickness to continue, and that under various circumstances,

or several years, requiring the help of the other, e on each occasion gave a written pledge to work, s soon as he was able, at his companion's orders, or the same number of hours which the other had iven up to him. What will the positions of the wo men be when the invalid is able to resume ork ?

Considered as a " Polis," or state, they will be oorer than they would have been otherwise : oorer by the withdrawal of what the sick man's bour would have produced in the interval. His iend may perhaps have toiled with an energy uickened by the enlarged need, but in the end is own land and property must have suffered by he withdrawal of so much of his time and thought om them : and the united property of the two en will be certainly less than it would have been both had remained in health and activity.

But the relations in which they stand to each ther are also widely altered. The sick man has ot only pledged his labour for some years, but ill probably have exhausted his own share of the ccumulated stores, and will be in consequence or some time dependent on the other for food, hich he can only " pay " or reward him for by et more deeply pledging his own labour.

Supposing the written promises to be held entirely valid (among civilised nations their validity s secured by legal measures [1]), the person who

[1] The disputes which exist respecting the real nature of money arise more from the disputants examining its functions in different sides, than from any real dissent in their opinions. All money, properly so called, is an acknowledgment of debt ; but as such, it may either be considered to represent the labour and property of the creditor, or the idleness and penury of the debtor. The intricacy of the question has been much increased

had hitherto worked for both might now, if h chose, rest altogether, and pass his time in idle ness, not only forcing his companion to redeem all the engagements he had already entered into but exacting from him pledges for further labour to an arbitrary amount, for what food he had t advance to him.

35. There might not, from first to last, be the least illegality (in the ordinary sense of the word in the arrangement; but if a stranger arrived on the coast at this advanced epoch of their politica economy, he would find one man commercially Rich; the other commercially Poor. He would see, perhaps, with no small surprise, one passing his days in idleness; the other labouring for both, and living sparely, in the hope of recovering his independence at some distant period.

This is, of course, an example of one only out of many ways in which inequality of possession may be established between different persons, giving rise to the Mercantile forms of Riches and Poverty. In the instance before us, one of the men might from the first have deliberately chosen to be idle, and to put his life in pawn for present ease; or he might have mismanaged his land, and been compelled to have recourse to his neighbour for food and help, pledging his future labour for it. But what I want the reader to note especially is the fact, common to a large number of typical

by the (hitherto necessary) use of marketable commodities, such as gold, silver, salt, shells, etc., to give intrinsic value or security to currency; but the final and best definition of money is that it is a documentary promise ratified and guaranteed by the nation to give or find a certain quantity of labour on demand. A man's labour for a day is a better standard of value than a measure of any produce, because no produce ever maintains a consistent rate of productibility.

ases of this kind, that the establishment of the ercantile wealth which consists in a claim upon abour, signifies a political diminution of the real ealth which consists in substantial possessions.

36. Take another example, more consistent with he ordinary course of affairs of trade. Suppose hat three men, instead of two, formed the little solated republic, and found themselves obliged o separate, in order to farm different pieces of and at some distance from each other along the oast: each estate furnishing a distinct kind of roduce, and each more or less in need of the naterial raised on the other. Suppose that the hird man, in order to save the time of all three, ndertakes simply to superintend the transference f commodities from one farm to the other; on ondition of receiving some sufficiently remunera- ive share of every parcel of goods conveyed, or f some other parcel received in exchange for it.

If this carrier or messenger always brings to each estate, from the other, what is chiefly wanted, at the right time, the operations of the two farmers will go on prosperously, and the largest possible result in produce, or wealth, will be attained by the little community. But suppose no intercourse between the landowners is possible, except through the travelling agent; and that, after a time, this agent, watching the course of each man's agriculture, keeps back the articles with which he has been entrusted until there comes a period of extreme necessity for them, on one side or other, and then exacts in exchange for them all that the distressed farmer can spare of other kinds of produce: it is easy to see that by ingeniously watching his opportunities, he might

possess himself regularly of the greater part o
the superfluous produce of the two estates, an
at last, in some year of severest trial or scar
city, purchase both for himself and maintain th
former proprietors thenceforward as his laboure
or servants.

37. This would be a case of commercial wealt
acquired on the exactest principles of moder
political economy. But more distinctly even tha
in the former instance, it is manifest in this tha
the wealth of the State, or of the three me
considered as a society, is collectively less than i
would have been had the merchant been conten
with juster profit. The operations of the tw
agriculturists have been cramped to the utmost
and the continual limitations of the supply o
things they wanted at critical times, togethe
with the failure of courage consequent on th
prolongation of a struggle for mere existence
without any sense of permanent gain, must have
seriously diminished the effective results of thei
labour; and the stores finally accumulated in
the merchant's hands will not in any wise be o
equivalent value to those which, had his dealings
been honest, would have filled at once the granaries
of the farmers and his own.

The whole question, therefore, respecting not
only the advantage, but even the quantity, of
national wealth, resolves itself finally into one
of abstract justice. It is impossible to conclude,
of any given mass of acquired wealth, merely by
the fact of its existence, whether it signifies good
or evil to the nation in the midst of which it exists.
Its real value depends on the moral sign attached
to it, just as sternly as that of a mathematical

quantity depends on the algebraical sign attached to it. Any given accumulation of commercial wealth may be indicative, on the one hand, of faithful industries, progressive energies, and productive ingenuities: or, on the other, it may be indicative of mortal luxury, merciless tyranny, ruinous chicane. Some treasures are heavy with human tears, as an ill-stored harvest with untimely rain; and some gold is brighter in sunshine than it is in substance.

38. And these are not, observe, merely moral or pathetic attributes of riches, which the seeker of riches may, if he chooses, despise; they are, literally and sternly, material attributes of riches, depreciating or exalting, incalculably, the monetary signification of the sum in question. One mass of money is the outcome of action which has created,—another, of action which has annihilated,—ten times as much in the gathering of it; such and such strong hands have been paralysed, as if they had been numbed by nightshade: so many strong men's courage broken, so many productive operations hindered; this and the other false direction given to labour, and lying image of prosperity set up, on Dura plains dug into seven-times-heated furnaces. That which seems to be wealth may in verity be only the gilded index of far-reaching ruin; a wrecker's handful of coin gleaned from the beach to which he has beguiled an argosy; a camp-follower's bundle of rags unwrapped from the breasts of goodly soldiers dead; the purchase-pieces of potter's fields, wherein shall be buried together the citizen and the stranger.

And therefore, the idea that directions can be given for the gaining of wealth, irrespectively of

the consideration of its moral sources, or that any general and technical law of purchase and gain can be set down for national practice, is perhaps the most insolently futile of all that ever beguiled men through their vices. So far as I know, there is not in history record of anything so disgraceful to the human intellect as the modern idea that the commercial text, "Buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest," represents, or under any circumstances could represent, an available principle of national economy. Buy in the cheapest market?—yes; but what made your market cheap? Charcoal may be cheap among your roof timbers after a fire, and bricks may be cheap in your streets after an earthquake; but fire and earthquake may not therefore be national benefits. Sell in the dearest?—yes, truly; but what made your market dear? You sold your bread well to-day: was it to a dying man who gave his last coin for it, and will never need bread more; or to a rich man who to-morrow will buy your farm over your head; or to a soldier on his way to pillage the bank in which you have put your fortune?

None of these things you can know. One thing only you can know: namely, whether this dealing of yours is a just and faithful one, which is all you need concern yourself about respecting it; sure thus to have done your own part in bringing about ultimately in the world a state of things which will not issue in pillage or in death. And thus every question concerning these things merges itself ultimately in the great question of justice, which, the ground being thus far cleared for it, I will enter upon in the next paper, leaving

ıly, in this, three final points for the reader's ɔnsideration.

39. It has been shown that the chief value and rtue of money consists in its having power over uman beings; that, without this power, large ıaterial possessions are useless, and to any person ɔssessing such power, comparatively unnecessary. ut power over human beings is attainable by ther means than by money. As I said a few ages back (§ 30), the money power is always nperfect and doubtful; there are many things hich cannot be reached with it, others which annot be retained by it. Many joys may be iven to men which cannot be bought for gold, nd many fidelities found in them which cannot e rewarded with it.

Trite enough,—the reader thinks. Yes: but ; is not so trite,—I wish it were,—that in this ıoral power, quite inscrutable and immeasurble though it be, there is a monetary value just s real as that represented by more ponderous urrencies. A man's hand may be full of inisible gold, and the wave of it, or the grasp, shall o more than another's with a shower of bullion. his invisible gold, also, does not necessarily iminish in spending. Political economists will ıo well some day to take heed of it, though they annot take measure.

But farther. Since the essence of wealth conists in its authority over men, if the apparent r nominal wealth fail in this power, it fails in ssence; in fact, ceases to be wealth at all. It loes not appear lately in England, that our uthority over men is absolute. The servants how some disposition to rush riotously upstairs,

under an impression that their wages are not regularly paid. We should augur ill of any gentleman's property to whom this happened every other day in his drawing-room.

So, also, the power of our wealth seems limited as respects the comfort of the servants, no less than their quietude. The persons in the kitchen appear to be ill-dressed, squalid, half-starved. One cannot help imagining that the riches of the establishment must be of a very theoretical and documentary character.

40. Finally. Since the essence of wealth consists in power over men, will it not follow that the nobler and the more in number the persons are over whom it has power, the greater the wealth? Perhaps it may even appear, after some consideration, that the persons themselves *are* the wealth—that these pieces of gold with which we are in the habit of guiding them, are, in fact, nothing more than a kind of Byzantine harness or trappings, very glittering and beautiful in barbaric sight, wherewith we bridle the creatures; but that if these same living creatures could be guided without the fretting and jingling of the Byzants in their mouths and ears, they might themselves be more valuable than their bridles. In fact, it may be discovered that the true veins of wealth are purple—and not in Rock, but in Flesh—perhaps even that the final outcome and consummation of all wealth is in the producing as many as possible full-breathed, bright-eyed, and happy-hearted human creatures. Our modern wealth, I think, has rather a tendency the other way;—most political economists appearing to consider multitudes of human creatures not

onducive to wealth, or at best conducive to it nly by remaining in a dim-eyed and narrow-hested state of being.

41. Nevertheless, it is open, I repeat, to serious uestion, which I leave to the reader's pondering, whether, among national manufactures, that of ouls of a good quality may not at last turn out quite leadingly lucrative one? Nay, in some ar-away and yet undreamt-of hour, I can even magine that England may cast all thoughts of ossessive wealth back to the barbaric nations mong whom they first arose; and that, while he sands of the Indus and adamant of Golconda nay yet stiffen the housings of the charger, and lash from the turban of the slave, she, as a Christian mother, may at last attain to the virtues nd the treasures of a Heathen one, and be able o lead forth her Sons, saying,—

"These are MY Jewels."

ESSAY III

QUI JUDICATIS TERRAM

42. Some centuries before the Christian era, a Jew merchant, largely engaged in business on th Gold Coast, and reported to have made one of th largest fortunes of his time (held also in reput for much practical sagacity), left among hi ledgers some general maxims concerning wealth which have been preserved, strangely enough even to our own days. They were held in con siderable respect by the most active traders o the Middle Ages, especially by the Venetians, wh even went so far in their admiration as to place a statue of the old Jew on the angle of one of thei principal public buildings. Of late years these writings have fallen into disrepute, being opposed in every particular to the spirit of modern com merce. Nevertheless I shall reproduce a passage or two from them here, partly because they may interest the reader by their novelty; and chiefly because they will show him that it is possible for a very practical and acquisitive tradesman to hold through a not unsuccessful career, that principle of distinction between well-gotten and ill-gotten wealth, which, partially insisted on in my last paper, it must be our work more completely to examine in this.

43. He says, for instance, in one place: "The getting of treasures by a lying tongue is a vanity tossed to and fro of them that seek death"; adding in another, with the same meaning (he has a curious way of doubling his sayings): Treasures of wickedness profit nothing: but justice delivers from death." Both these passages are notable for their assertions of death as the only real issue and sum of attainment by any unjust scheme of wealth. If we read, instead of "lying tongue," "lying label, title, pretence, or advertisement," we shall more clearly perceive the bearing of the words on modern business. The seeking of death is a grand expression of the true course of men's toil in such business. We usually speak as if death pursued us, and we fled from him; but that is only so in rare instances. Ordinarily he masks himself—makes himself beautiful—all-glorious; not like the King's daughter, all-glorious within, but outwardly: his clothing of wrought gold. We pursue him frantically all our days, he flying or hiding from us. Our crowning success at three-score and ten is utterly and perfectly to seize, and hold him in his eternal integrity—robes, ashes, and sting.

Again: the merchant says, "He that oppresseth the poor to increase his riches, shall surely come to want." And again, more strongly: "Rob not the poor because he is poor; neither oppress the afflicted in the place of business. For God shall spoil the soul of those that spoiled them."

This "robbing the poor because he is poor," is especially the mercantile form of theft, consisting

in taking advantage of a man's necessities order to obtain his labour or property at a r duced price. The ordinary highwayman's opp site form of robbery—of the rich, because he rich—does not appear to occur so often to th old merchant's mind; probably because, bein less profitable and more dangerous than th robbery of the poor, it is rarely practised b persons of discretion.

44. But the two most remarkable passages i their deep general significance are the following :—

"The rich and the poor have met. God i their maker."

"The rich and the poor have met. God i their light."

They "have met": more literally, have stood in each other's way (*obviaverunt*). That is to say, as long as the world lasts, the action and counteraction of wealth and poverty, the meeting face to face, of rich and poor, is just as appointed and necessary a law of that world as the flow of stream to sea, or the interchange of power among the electric clouds :—"God is their maker." But, also, this action may be either gentle and just, or convulsive and destructive: it may be by rage of devouring flood, or by lapse of service-able wave;—in blackness of thunderstroke, or continual force of vital fire, soft, and shapeable into love-syllables from far away. And which of these it shall be, depends on both rich and poor knowing that God is their light; that in the mystery of human life, there is no other light than this by which they can see each other's faces, and live;—light, which is called in another of the books among which the merchant's maxims have

en preserved, the "sun of justice," [1] of which is promised that it shall rise at last with "healg" (health-giving or helping, making whole or tting at one) in its wings. For truly this healing only possible by means of justice; no love, no ith, no hope will do it; men will be unwisely nd—vainly faithful,—unless primarily they are st; and the mistake of the best men through neration after generation, has been that great ne of thinking to help the poor by almsgiving, id by preaching of patience or of hope, and y every other means, emollient or consolatory, cept the one thing which God orders for them, stice. But this justice, with its accompanying bliness or helpfulness, being even by the best an denied in its trial time, is by the mass of en hated wherever it appears: so that, when ie choice was one day fairly put to them, they nied the Helpful One and the Just; [2] and sired a murderer, sedition-raiser, and robber, to

[1] More accurately, Sun of Justness; but, instead of the harsh ord "Justness," the old English "Righteousness" being mmonly employed, has, by getting confused with "godliss," or attracting about it various vague and broken meanings, evented most persons from receiving the force of the passage which it occurs. The word "righteousness" properly refers the justice of rule, or right, as distinguished from "equity," hich refers to the justice of balance. More broadly, Righteousss is King's justice; and Equity Judge's justice; the King iding or ruling all, the Judge dividing or discerning between posites (therefore, the double question, "Man, who made e a ruler—δικαστὴς—or a divider—μεριστὴς—over you?") nus, with respect to the Justice of Choice (selection, the ebler and passive justice), we have from lego,—lex, legal, loi, d loyal; and with respect to the Justice of Rule (direction, e stronger and active justice), we have from rego,—rex, regal, i, and royal.

[2] In another place written with the same meaning, "Just, d having salvation."

be granted to them;—the murderer instead
the Lord of Life, the sedition-raiser instead of th
Prince of Peace, and the robber instead of th
Just Judge of all the world.

45. I have just spoken of the flowing of stream
to the sea as a partial image of the action of wealth
In one respect it is not a partial, but a perfec
image. The popular economist thinks himse
wise in having discovered that wealth, or th
forms of property in general, must go where the
are required; that where demand is, supply mus
follow. He farther declares that this course o
demand and supply cannot be forbidden by huma
laws. Precisely in the same sense, and with th
same certainty, the waters of the world go wher
they are required. Where the land falls, th
water flows. The course neither of clouds no
rivers can be forbidden by human will. Bu
the disposition and administration of them ca
be altered by human forethought. Whether th
stream shall be a curse or a blessing, depends upo
man's labour, and administrating intelligence
For centuries after centuries, great districts of th
world, rich in soil, and favoured in climate, hav
lain desert under the rage of their own rivers
nor only desert, but plague-struck. The stream
which, rightly directed, would have flowed in sof
irrigation from field to field—would have purifie
the air, given food to man and beast, and carrie
their burdens for them on its bosom—now over
whelms the plain and poisons the wind; its breath
pestilence, and its work famine. In like manne
this wealth "goes where it is required." No
human laws can withstand its flow. They can
only guide it: but this, the leading trench and

miting mound can do so thoroughly, that it shall ecome water of life—the riches of the hand of isdom ; [1] or, on the contrary, by leaving it to its wn lawless flow, they may make it, what it has een too often, the last and deadliest of national lagues : water of Marah—the water which feeds he roots of all evil.

The necessity of these laws of distribution or re-traint is curiously overlooked in the ordinary poli-ical economist's definition of his own "science." Ie calls it, shortly, the "science of getting rich." But there are many sciences, as well as many arts, f getting rich. Poisoning people of large estates, as one employed largely in the Middle Ages ; dulteration of food of people of small estates, one employed largely now. The ancient and onourable Highland method of black mail ; the nore modern and less honourable system of ob-aining goods on credit, and the other variously nproved methods of appropriation—which, in najor and minor scales of industry, down to the nost artistic pocket-picking, we owe to recent enius,—all come under the general head of ciences, or arts, of getting rich.

46. So that it is clear the popular economist, in alling his science the science par excellence of etting rich, must attach some peculiar ideas of mitation to its character. I hope I do not mis-epresent him, by assuming that he means *his* cience to be the science of "getting rich by legal r just means." In this definition, is the word just," or "legal," finally to stand ? For it is ossible among certain nations, or under certain

[1] "Length of days in her right hand ; in her left, riches and onour."

rulers, or by help of certain advocates, that pr
ceedings may be legal which are by no means jus
If, therefore, we leave at last only the word "just
in that place of our definition, the insertion of th
solitary and small word will make a notable diffe
ence in the grammar of our science. For then
will follow that in order to grow rich scientificall
we must grow rich justly; and, therefore, kno
what is just; so that our economy will no long
depend merely on prudence, but on jurisprudenc
—and that of divine, not human law. Whic
prudence is indeed of no mean order, holding itsel
as it were, high in the air of heaven, and gazing f
ever on the light of the sun of justice; hence th
souls which have excelled in it are represented b
Dante as stars forming in heaven for ever th
figure of the eye of an eagle; they having been i
life the discerners of light from darkness; or t
the whole human race, as the light of the body
which is the eye; while those souls which for
the wings of the bird (giving power and dominio
to justice, "healing in its wings") trace also i
light the inscription in heaven: "DILIGITE JUST
TIAM QUI JUDICATIS TERRAM." "Ye who judg
the earth, give" (not, observe, merely love, bu
"diligent love to justice": the love which seek
diligently, that is to say, choosingly, and b
preference to all things else. Which judging c
doing judgment in the earth is, according to thei
capacity and position, required not of judges only
nor of rulers only, but of all men: [1] a truth sorrow
fully lost sight of even by those who are read

[1] I hear that several of our lawyers have been greatly amuse
by the statement in the first of these papers that a lawyer
function was to do justice. I did not intend it for a jest

ough to apply to themselves passages in which ristian men are spoken of as called to be saints" (*i.e.*, to helpful or healing functions); d "chosen to be kings" (*i.e.*, to knowing or recting functions); the true meaning of these les having been long lost through the pretences unhelpful and unable persons to saintly and ngly character; also through the once popular ea that both the sanctity and royalty are to nsist in wearing long robes and high crowns, stead of in mercy and judgment; whereas all ie sanctity is saving power, as all true royalty ruling power; and injustice is part and parcel the denial of such power, which "makes men the creeping things, as the fishes of the sea, at have no ruler over them." [1]

47. Absolute justice is indeed no more attain- le than absolute truth; but the righteous man distinguished from the unrighteous by his sire and hope of justice, as the true man from e false by his desire and hope of truth. And ough absolute justice be unattainable, as much tice as we need for all practical use is attainable all those who make it their aim.

We have to examine, then, in the subject before what are the laws of justice respecting payment

ertheless it will be seen that in the above passage neither determination nor doing of justice are contemplated as ctions wholly peculiar to the lawyer. Possibly, the more standing armies, whether of soldiers, pastors, or legislators e generic term "pastor" including all teachers, and the eric term "lawyer" including makers as well as interpreters aw), can be superseded by the force of national heroism, dom, and honesty, the better it may be for the nation.

It being the privilege of the fishes, as it is of rats and ves, to live by the laws of demand and supply; but the inction of humanity, to live by those of right.

of labour—no small part, these, of the foundatio
of all jurisprudence.

I reduced, in my last paper, the idea of mon
payment to its simplest or radical terms.
those terms its nature, and the conditions
justice respecting it, can be best ascertained.

Money payment, as there stated, consists rad
cally in a promise to some person working for u
that for the time and labour he spends in o
service to-day we will give or procure equivale
time and labour in his service at any future tim
when he may demand it.[1]

If we promise to give him less labour than h
has given us, we under-pay him. If we promi
to give him more labour than he has given u
we over-pay him. In practice, according to th
laws of demand and supply, when two men a
ready to do the work, and only one man wants
have it done, the two men underbid each oth
for it; and the one who gets it to do, is under-paid
But when two men want the work done, and the
is only one man ready to do it, the two men wh
want it done overbid each other, and the work
man is over-paid.

48. I will examine these two points of injustic
in succession; but first I wish the reader to clearl

[1] It might appear at first that the market price of labou
expressed such an exchange: but this is a fallacy, for th
market price is the momentary price of the kind of labou
required, but the just price is its equivalent of the productiv
labour of mankind. This difference will be analysed in i
place. It must be noted also that I speak here only of th
exchangeable value of labour, not of that of commodities
The exchangeable value of a commodity is that of the labou
required to produce it, multiplied into the force of the deman
for it. If the value of the labour $= x$ and the force of deman
$= y$, the exchangeable value of the commodity is xy, in which
either $x = 0$, or $y = 0$, $xy = 0$.

nderstand the central principle, lying between ıe two, of right or just payment.

When we ask a service of any man, he may ther give it us freely, or demand payment for it. especting free gift of service, there is no question t present, that being a matter of affection—not f traffic. But if he demand payment for it, and e wish to treat him with absolute equity, it is vident that this equity can only consist in giving me for time, strength for strength, and skill for kill. If a man works an hour for us, and we nly promise to work half an hour for him in eturn, we obtain an unjust advantage. If, on ıe contrary, we promise to work an hour and a alf for him in return, he has an unjust advantage. he justice consists in absolute exchange; or, if ıere be any respect to the stations of the parties, will not be in favour of the employer: there is ertainly no equitable reason in a man's being oor, that if he give me a pound of bread to-day, should return him less than a pound of bread o-morrow; or any equitable reason in a man's eing uneducated, that if he uses a certain quantity skill and knowledge in my service, I should use less quantity of skill and knowledge in his. Perıps, ultimately, it may appear desirable, or, to y the least, gracious, that I should give in return mewhat more than I received. But at present, e are concerned on the law of justice only, which that of perfect and accurate exchange;—one rcumstance only interfering with the simplicity this radical idea of just payment—that inasmuch labour (rightly directed) is fruitful just as seed , the fruit (or "interest," as it is called) of the bour first given, or "advanced," ought to be

taken into account, and balanced by an addition quantity of labour in the subsequent repaymer Supposing the repayment to take place at the e of the year, or of any other given time, this calc lation could be approximately made, but as mon (that is to say, cash) payment involves no refe ence to time (it being optional with the pers paid to spend what he receives at once or after a number of years), we can only assume, generall that some slight advantage must in equity allowed to the person who advances the labour, that the typical form of bargain will be: If y give me an hour to-day, I will give you an ho and five minutes on demand. If you give me pound of bread to-day, I will give you seventee ounces on demand, and so on. All that is nece sary for the reader to note is, that the amou returned is at least in equity not to be *less* tha the amount given.

The abstract idea, then, of just or due wage as respects the labourer, is that they will consi in a sum of money which will at any time procu for him at least as much labour as he has give rather more than less. And this equity or justi of payment is, observe, wholly independent of a reference to the number of men who are willing do the work. I want a horseshoe for my hors Twenty smiths, or twenty thousand smiths, ma be ready to forge it; their number does not one atom's weight affect the question of t equitable payment of the one who *does* forge i It costs him a quarter of an hour of his life, a so much skill and strength of arm, to make tha horseshoe for me. Then at some future time I a bound in equity to give a quarter of an hour, a

me minutes more, of my life (or of some other rson's at my disposal), and also as much strength arm and skill, and a little more, in making or ing what the smith may have need of.

49. Such being the abstract theory of just remunerative payment, its application is practically odified by the fact that the order for labour, ven in payment, is general, while the labour ceived is special. The current coin or document practically an order on the nation for so much ork of any kind; and this universal applicality to immediate need renders it so much more aluable than special labour can be, that an order r a less quantity of this general toil will always e accepted as a just equivalent for a greater uantity of special toil. Any given craftsman will ways be willing to give an hour of his own work order to receive command over half an hour, or ven much less, of national work. This source of ncertainty, together with the difficulty of deterining the monetary value of skill,[1] render the

[1] Under the term "skill" I mean to include the united force experience, intellect, and passion, in their operation on anual labour: and under the term "passion" to include the ntire range and agency of the moral feelings; from the simple atience and gentleness of mind which will give continuity and heness to the touch, or enable one person to work without tigue, and with good effect, twice as long as another, up to e qualities of character which render science possible—(the tardation of science by envy is one of the most tremendous sses in the economy of the present century)—and to the inmmunicable emotion and imagination which are the first and ightiest sources of all value in art.

It is highly singular that political economists should not yet ave perceived, if not the moral, at least the passionate element, be an inextricable quantity in every calculation. I cannot nceive, for instance, how it was possible that Mr. Mill should ave followed the true clue so far as to write,—"No limit can e set to the importance—even in a purely productive and

ascertainment (even approximate) of the prop
wages of any given labour in terms of a currenc
matter of considerable complexity. But they c
not affect the principle of exchange. The wor
of the work may not be easily known; but it *h*
a worth, just as fixed and real as the specific gravit
of a substance, though such specific gravity ma
not be easily ascertainable when the substance
united with many others. Nor is there so muc
difficulty or chance in determining it, as in dete
mining the ordinary maxima and minima of vulg
political economy. There are few bargains i
which the buyer can ascertain with anything lik
precision that the seller would have taken no less
—or the seller acquire more than a comfortab
faith that the purchaser would have given no mor
This impossibility of precise knowledge prevent
neither from striving to attain the desired poin

material point of view—of mere thought," without seeing tha
it was logically necessary to add also, "and of mere feeling.
And this the more, because in his first definition of labour h
includes in the idea of it "all feelings of a disagreeable kin
connected with the employment of one's thoughts in a part
cular occupation." True; but why not also, "feelings of a
agreeable kind"? It can hardly be supposed that the feeling
which retard labour are more essentially a part of the labou
than those which accelerate it. The first are paid for as pain
the second as power. The workman is merely indemnified fo
the first; but the second both produce a part of the exchange
able value of the work, and materially increase its actua
quantity.

"Fritz is with us. *He* is worth fifty thousand men." Truly
a large addition to the material force;—consisting, however, b
it observed, not more in operations carried on in Fritz's head
than in operations carried on in his armies' heart. "No limi
can be set to the importance of *mere* thought." Perhaps not
Nay, suppose some day it should turn out that "mere" though
was in itself a recommendable object of production, and tha
all Material production was only a step towards this mor
precious Immaterial one?

f greatest vexation and injury to the other, nor om accepting it for a scientific principle that he to buy for the least and sell for the most possible, hough what the real least or most may be he can- ot tell. In like manner, a just person lays it own for a scientific principle that he is to pay a ıst price, and, without being able precisely to scertain the limits of such a price, will never- heless strive to attain the closest possible ap- roximation to them. A practically serviceable pproximation he *can* obtain. It is easier to de- ermine scientifically what a man ought to have or his work, than what his necessities will compel im to take for it. His necessities can only be scertained by empirical, but his due by analyti- al, investigation. In the one case, you try your nswer to the sum like a puzzled schoolboy— ill you find one that fits ; in the other, you bring ut your result within certain limits, by process of alculation.

50. Supposing, then, the just wages of any uantity of given labour to have been ascer- ained, let us examine the first results of just nd unjust payment, when in favour of the pur- haser or employer: *i.e.*, when two men are eady to do the work, and only one wants to ave it done.

The unjust purchaser forces the two to bid gainst each other till he has reduced their de- nand to its lowest terms. Let us assume that the owest bidder offers to do the work at half its just rice.

The purchaser employs him, and does not em- loy the other. The first or *apparent* result is, herefore, that one of the two men is left out of

employ, or to starvation, just as definitely as b
the just procedure of giving fair price to the be
workman. The various writers who endeavoure
to invalidate the positions of my first paper nev
saw this, and assumed that the unjust hirer em
ployed *both*. He employs both no more than th
just hirer. The only difference (in the outset)
that the just man pays sufficiently, the unju
man insufficiently, for the labour of the sing
person employed.

I say, "in the outset"; for this first or ap
parent difference is not the actual differenc
By the unjust procedure, half the proper pric
of the work is left in the hands of the employe
This enables him to hire another man at th
same unjust rate, on some other kind of work
and the final result is that he has two men work
ing for him at half-price, and two are out o
employ.

51. By the just procedure, the whole price o
the first piece of work goes into the hands of th
man who does it. No surplus being left in th
employer's hands, *he* cannot hire another man fo
another piece of labour. But by precisely so muc
as his power is diminished, the hired workman'
power is increased: that is to say, by the addi
tional half of the price he has received; whic
additional half *he* has the power of using to em
ploy another man in *his* service. I will suppose
for the moment, the least favourable, though quit
probable, case—that, though justly treated him
self, he yet will act unjustly to his subordinate
and hire at half-price if he can. The final resul
will then be, that one man works for the employer
at just price; one for the workman, at half-price

nd two, as in the first case, are still out of employ. hese two, as I said before, are out of employ in *th* cases. The difference between the just and njust procedure does not lie in the number of men red, but in the price paid to them, and the *per-ns by whom* it is paid. The essential difference, iat which I want the reader to see clearly, is, iat in the unjust case, two men work for one, ie first hirer. In the just case, one man works r the first hirer, one for the person hired, and on, down or up through the various grades of rvice; the influence being carried forward by stice, and arrested by injustice. The universal nd constant action of justice in this matter is herefore to diminish the power of wealth, in the ands of one individual, over masses of men, and distribute it through a chain of men. The actual ower exerted by the wealth is the same in both ases; but by injustice it is put all into one man's ands, so that he directs at once and with equal rce the labour of a circle of men about him; y the just procedure, he is permitted to touch ie nearest only, through whom, with diminished rce, modified by new minds, the energy of the ealth passes on to others, and so till it exhausts self.

52. The immediate operation of justice in this spect is therefore to diminish the power of ealth, first, in acquisition of luxury, and secondly, exercise of moral influence. The employer annot concentrate so multitudinous labour on is own interests, nor can he subdue so multi-udinous mind to his own will. But the secondary peration of justice is not less important. The sufficient payment of the group of men working

for one, places each under a maximum of diffi culty in rising above his position. The tendenc of the system is to check advancement. But th sufficient or just payment, distributed through descending series of offices or grades of labour, gives each subordinated person fair and sufficien means of rising in the social scale, if he choose to use them; and thus not only diminishes th immediate power of wealth, but removes the wors disabilities of poverty.

53. It is on this vital problem that the entire destiny of the labourer is ultimately dependent Many minor interests may sometimes appear t interfere with it, but all branch from it. Fo instance, considerable agitation is often caused

[1] I am sorry to lose time by answering, however curtly, the equivocations of the writers who sought to obscure the instances given of regulated labour in the first of these papers, by confusing kinds, ranks, and quantities of labour with its qualities. I never said that a colonel should have the same pay as a private, nor a bishop the same pay as a curate. Neither did I say that more work ought to be paid as less work (so that the curate of a parish of two thousand souls should have no more than the curate of a parish of five hundred). But I said that, so far as you employ it at all, bad work should be paid no less than good work; as a bad clergyman yet takes his tithes, a bad physician takes his fee, and a bad lawyer his costs. And this, as will be farther shown in the conclusion, I said, and say, partly because the best work never was, nor ever will be, done for money at all; but chiefly because, the moment people know they have to pay the bad and good alike, they will try to discern the one from the other, and not use the bad. A sagacious writer in the *Scotsman* asks me if I should like any common scribbler to be paid by Messrs. Smith, Elder & Co. as their good authors are. I should, if they employed him—but would seriously recommend them, for the scribbler's sake as well as their own, *not* to employ him. The quantity of its money which the country at present invests in scribbling is not, in the outcome of it, economically spent; and even the highly ingenious person to whom this question occurred, might perhaps have been more beneficially employed than in printing it.

n the minds of the lower classes when they dis-over the share which they nominally, and to all appearance, actually, pay out of their wages in axation (I believe thirty-five or forty per cent.). This sounds very grievous; but in reality the abourer does not pay it, but his employer. If he workman had not to pay it, his wages would be less by just that sum; competition would still reduce them to the lowest rate at which life was possible. Similarly the lower orders agitated for the repeal of the corn laws,[1] thinking they would

[1] I have to acknowledge an interesting communication on the subject of free trade from Paisley (for a short letter from "A Well-wisher" at ——, my thanks are yet more due). But the Scottish writer will, I fear, be disagreeably surprised to hear, that I am, and always have been, an utterly fearless and unscrupulous free-trader. Seven years ago, speaking of the various signs of infancy in the European mind (*Stones of Venice*, vol. iii., p. 168), I wrote: "The first principles of commerce were acknowledged by the English parliament only a few months ago, in its free-trade measures, and are still so little understood by the million, that *no nation dares to abolish its custom-houses.*"

It will be observed that I do not admit even the idea of reciprocity. Let other nations, if they like, keep their ports shut; every wise nation will throw its own open. It is not the opening them, but a sudden, inconsiderate, and blunderingly experimental manner of opening them, which does harm. If you have been protecting a manufacture for a long series of years, you must not take the protection off in a moment, so as to throw every one of its operatives at once out of employ, any more than you must take all its wrappings off a feeble child at once in cold weather, though the cumber of them may have been radically injuring its health. Little by little, you must restore it to freedom and to air.

Most people's minds are in curious confusion on the subject of free-trade, because they suppose it to imply enlarged competition. On the contrary, free-trade puts an end to all competition. "Protection" (among various other mischievous functions) endeavours to enable one country to compete with another in the production of an article at a disadvantage. When trade is entirely free, no country can be competed with in the articles for the production of which it is naturally

be better off if bread were cheaper; never pe
ceiving that as soon as bread was permanentl
cheaper, wages would permanently fall in pr
cisely that proportion. The corn laws wer
rightly repealed; not, however, because the
directly oppressed the poor, but because the
indirectly oppressed them in causing a larg
quantity of their labour to be consumed unpr
ductively. So also unnecessary taxation oppresse
them, through destruction of capital; but th
destiny of the poor depends primarily always o
this one question of dueness of wages. Thei
distress (irrespectively of that caused by sloth
minor error, or crime) arises on the grand scal
from the two reacting forces of competition an
oppression. There is not yet, nor will yet fo
ages be, any real over-population in the world
but a local over-population, or, more accurately,
degree of population locally unmanageable unde
existing circumstances for want of forethough
and sufficient machinery, necessarily shows itsel
by pressure of competition; and the taking ad
vantage of this competition by the purchase
to obtain their labour unjustly cheap, consum
mates at once their suffering and his own
for in this (as I believe in every other kind
of slavery) the oppressor suffers at last more
than the oppressed, and those magnificent lines

calculated; nor can it compete with any other, in the produc
tion of articles for which it is not naturally calculated. Tuscany,
for instance, cannot compete with England in steel, nor England
with Tuscany in oil. They must exchange their steel and oil.
Which exchange should be as frank and free as honesty and
the sea-winds can make it. Competition, indeed, arises at
first, and sharply, in order to prove which is strongest in any
given manufacture possible to both; this point once ascer-
tained, competition is at an end.

of Pope, even in all their force, fall short of the truth :—

> "Yet, to be just to these poor men of pelf,
> Each does but HATE HIS NEIGHBOUR AS HIMSELF:
> Damned to the mines, an equal fate betides
> The slave that digs it, and the slave that hides."

54. The collateral and reversionary operations of justice in this matter I shall examine hereafter (it being needful first to define the nature of value); proceeding then to consider within what practical terms a juster system may be established; and ultimately the vexed question of the destinies of the unemployed workmen.[1] Lest, however, the reader should be alarmed at some of the issues to which our investigations seem to be tending, as

[1] I should be glad if the reader would first clear the ground for himself so far as to determine whether the difficulty lies in getting the work or getting the pay for it. Does he consider occupation itself to be an expensive luxury, difficult of attainment, of which too little is to be found in the world? or is it rather that, while in the enjoyment even of the most athletic delight, men must nevertheless be maintained, and this maintenance is not always forthcoming? We must be clear on this head before going farther, as most people are loosely in the habit of talking of the difficulty of "finding employment." Is it employment that we want to find, or support during employment? Is it idleness we wish to put an end to, or hunger? We have to take up both questions in succession, only not both at the same time. No doubt that work *is* a luxury, and a very great one. It is, indeed, at once a luxury and a necessity; no man can retain either health of mind or body without it. So profoundly do I feel this, that, as will be seen in the sequel, one of the principal objects I would recommend to benevolent and practical persons, is to induce rich people to seek for a larger quantity of this luxury than they at present possess. Nevertheless, it appears by experience that even this healthiest of pleasures may be indulged in to excess, and that human beings are just as liable to surfeit of labour as to surfeit of meat; so that, as on the one hand, it may be charitable to provide, for some people, lighter dinner, and more work,—for others, it may be equally expedient to provide lighter work, and more dinner.

if in their bearing against the power of wealth they had something in common with those of socialism, I wish him to know, in accurate terms, one or two of the main points which I have in view.

Whether socialism has made more progress among the army and navy (where payment is made on my principles), or among the manufacturing operatives (who are paid on my opponents' principles), I leave it to those opponents to ascertain and declare. Whatever their conclusion may be, I think it necessary to answer for myself only this: that if there be any one point insisted on throughout my works more frequently than another, that one point is the impossibility of Equality. My continual aim has been to show the eternal superiority of some men to others, sometimes even of one man to all others; and to show also the advisability of appointing such persons or person to guide, to lead, or on occasion even to compel and subdue, their inferiors according to their own better knowledge and wiser will. My principles of Political Economy were all involved in a single phrase spoken three years ago at Manchester: "Soldiers of the Ploughshare as well as Soldiers of the Sword": and they were all summed in a single sentence in the last volume of *Modern Painters*—"Government and co-operation are in all things the Laws of Life; Anarchy and competition the Laws of Death."

And with respect to the mode in which these general principles affect the secure possession of property, so far am I from invalidating such security, that the whole gist of these papers will be found ultimately to aim at an extension in its range; and whereas it has long been known and

eclared that the poor have no right to the pro-
erty of the rich, I wish it also to be known and
eclared that the rich have no right to the property
the poor.

55. But that the working of the system which
have undertaken to develop would in many
ays shorten the apparent and direct, though not
ie unseen and collateral, power, both of wealth,
s the Lady of Pleasure, and of capital as the Lord
f Toil, I do not deny: on the contrary, I affirm
in all joyfulness; knowing that the attraction
f riches is already too strong, as their authority
already too weighty, for the reason of mankind.
said in my last paper that nothing in history
ad ever been so disgraceful to human intellect as
he acceptance among us of the common doctrines
f political economy as a science. I have many
rounds for saying this, but one of the chief may
e given in few words. I know no previous in-
tance in history of a nation's establishing a
ystematic disobedience to the first principles of
s professed religion. The writings which we
verbally) esteem as divine, not only denounce
he love of money as the source of all evil, and as
n idolatry abhorred of the Deity, but declare
nammon service to be the accurate and irrecon-
ileable opposite of God's service: and, whenever
hey speak of riches absolute, and poverty abso-
ute, declare woe to the rich, and blessing to the
oor. Whereupon we forthwith investigate a
cience of becoming rich, as the shortest road to
ational prosperity.

> "Tai Cristian dannerà l'Etiòpe,
> Quando si partiranno i due collegi,
> L'UNO IN ETERNO RICCO, E L'ALTRO INÒPE."

ESSAY IV

AD VALOREM

56. In the last paper we saw that just payment of labour consisted in a sum of money which would approximately obtain equivalent labour at a future time: we have now to examine the means of obtaining such equivalence. Which question involves the definition of Value, Wealth, Price, and Produce.

None of these terms are yet defined so as to be understood by the public. But the last, Produce, which one might have thought the clearest of all, is, in use, the most ambiguous; and the examination of the kind of ambiguity attendant on its present employment will best open the way to our work.

In his chapter on Capital,[1] Mr. J. S. Mill instances, as a capitalist, a hardware manufacturer, who, having intended to spend a certain portion of the proceeds of his business in buying plate and jewels, changes his mind, and "pays it as wages to additional workpeople." The effect is stated by Mr. Mill to be, that "more food is appropriated to the consumption of productive labourers."

[1] Book I. chap. iv. s. 1. To save space, my future references to Mr. Mill's work will be by numerals only, as in this instance, I. iv. 1. Ed. in 2 vols. 8vo, Parker, 1848.

57. Now I do not ask, though, had I written his paragraph, it would surely have been asked f me, What is to become of the silversmiths ? f they are truly unproductive persons, we will cquiesce in their extinction. And though in nother part of the same passage, the hardware nerchant is supposed also to dispense with a umber of servants, whose " food is thus set free or productive purposes," I do not inquire what vill be the effect, painful or otherwise, upon the ervants, of this emancipation of their food. But very seriously inquire why ironware is produce, nd silverware is not ? That the merchant con- umes the one, and sells the other, certainly does ot constitute the difference, unless it can be shown which, indeed, I perceive it to be becoming daily nore and more the aim of tradesmen to show) that ommodities are made to be sold, and not to be onsumed. The merchant is an agent of convey- nce to the consumer in one case, and is himself he consumer in the other : [1] but the labourers are n either case equally productive, since they have roduced goods to the same value, if the hardware nd the plate are both goods.

[1] If Mr. Mill had wished to show the difference in result etween consumption and sale, he should have represented the ardware merchant as consuming his own goods instead of elling them ; similarly, the silver merchant as consuming his wn goods instead of selling them. Had he done this, he ould have made his position clearer, though less tenable ; nd perhaps this was the position he really intended to take, icitly involving his theory, elsewhere stated, and shown in the equel of this paper to be false, that demand for commodities is ot demand for labour. But by the most diligent scrutiny of he paragraph now under examination, I cannot determine hether it is a fallacy pure and simple, or the half of one allacy supported by the whole of a greater one ; so that I treat here on the kinder assumption that it is one fallacy only.

And what distinction separates them? It indeed possible that in the "comparative est mate of the moralist," with which Mr. Mill say political economy has nothing to do (III. i. 2), steel fork might appear a more substantial pro duction than a silver one: we may grant als that knives, no less than forks, are good produce and scythes and ploughshares serviceable articles But, how of bayonets? Supposing the hardwar merchant to effect large sales of *these*, by help o the "setting free" of the food of his servants an his silversmith,—is he still employing productiv labourers, or, in Mr. Mill's words, labourers wh increase "the stock of permanent means of enjoy ment" (I. iii. 4)? Or if, instead of bayonets, h supply bombs, will not the absolute and final "en joyment" of even these energetically productiv articles (each of which costs ten pounds [1]) be de pendent on a proper choice of time and place fo their *enfantement*; choice, that is to say, depend ing on those philosophical considerations wit which political economy has nothing to do? [2]

58. I should have regretted the need of pointin out inconsistency in any portion of Mr. Mill's work had not the value of his work proceeded from it inconsistencies. He deserves honour among econo mists by inadvertently disclaiming the principle which he states, and tacitly introducing the mora

[1] I take Mr. Helps' estimate in his essay on War.

[2] Also, when the wrought silver vases of Spain were dashe to fragments by our custom-house officers because bullio might be imported free of duty, but not brains, was the ax that broke them productive?—the artist who wrought then unproductive? Or again. If the woodman's axe is pro ductive, is the executioner's? as also, if the hemp of a cabl be productive, does not the productiveness of hemp in a halte depend on its moral more than on its material application?

nsiderations with which he declares his science as no connection. Many of his chapters are, herefore, true and valuable; and the only conusions of his which I have to dispute are those hich follow from his premises.

Thus, the idea which lies at the root of the assage we have just been examining, namely, hat labour applied to produce luxuries will not pport so many persons as labour applied to roduce useful articles, is entirely true; but the stance given fails—and in four directions of ilure at once—because Mr. Mill has not defined he real meaning of usefulness. The definition hich he has given—"capacity to satisfy a desire, r serve a purpose" (III. i. 2)—applies equally o the iron and silver; while the true definition —which he has not given, but which nevertheless nderlies the false verbal definition in his mind, nd comes out once or twice by accident (as in he words "any support to life or strength" in . iii. 5)—applies to some articles of iron, but ot to others, and to some articles of silver, but ot to others. It applies to ploughs, but not to ayonets; and to forks, but not to filigree.[1]

59. The eliciting of the true definitions will ive us the reply to our first question, "What s value?" respecting which, however, we must rst hear the popular statements.

'The word 'value,' when used without adjunct, lways means, in political economy, value in exhange" (Mill, III. i. 2). So that, if two ships annot exchange their rudders, their rudders are, n politico-economic language, of no value to either.

[1] Filigree; that is to say, generally, ornament dependent on omplexity, not on art.

But "the subject of political economy wealth."—(Preliminary remarks, page 1.)

And wealth "consists of all useful and agreeab objects which possess exchangeable value."—(Pr liminary remarks, page 10.)

It appears, then, according to Mr. Mill, that us fulness and agreeableness underlie the exchang value, and must be ascertained to exist in th thing, before we can esteem it an object of wealth

Now, the economical usefulness of a thing de pends not merely on its own nature, but on th number of people who can and will use it. horse is useless, and therefore unsaleable, if n one can ride,—a sword, if no one can strike, an meat, if no one can eat. Thus every materia utility depends on its relative human capacity.

Similarly: The agreeableness of a thing de pends not merely on its own likeableness, but o the number of people who can be got to like it The relative agreeableness, and therefore saleable ness, of "a pot of the smallest ale," and of "Adoni painted by a running brook," depends virtually o the opinion of Demos, in the shape of Christophe Sly. That is to say, the agreeableness of a thing depends on its relatively human disposition.[1]

[1] These statements sound crude in their brevity; but wil be found of the utmost importance when they are developed. Thus, in the above instance, economists have never perceived that disposition to buy is a wholly *moral* element in demand; that is to say, when you give a man half a crown, it depends on his disposition whether he is rich or poor with it—whether he will buy disease, ruin, and hatred, or buy health, advancement, and domestic love. And thus the agreeableness or exchange value of every offered commodity depends on production, not merely of the commodity, but of buyers of it; therefore on the education of buyers, and on all the moral elements by which their disposition to buy this, or that, is formed. I will illustrate and expand into final consequences

herefore, political economy, being a science of ealth, must be a science respecting human capa- ies and dispositions. But moral considerations ve nothing to do with political economy (III. 2). Therefore, moral considerations have no- ing to do with human capacities and disposi- ons.

60. I do not wholly like the look of this con- usion from Mr. Mill's statements:—let us try r. Ricardo's.

"Utility is not the measure of exchangeable lue, though it is absolutely essential to it."— hap. I. sect. i.) Essential in what degree, Mr. icardo? There may be greater and less degrees utility. Meat, for instance, may be so good as be fit for any one to eat, or so bad as to be fit r no one to eat. What is the exact degree of odness which is "essential" to its exchange- le value, but not "the measure" of it? How od must the meat be, in order to possess any xchangeable value? and how bad must it be— wish this were a settled question in London arkets)—in order to possess none?

There appears to be some hitch, I think, in the orking even of Mr. Ricardo's principles; but let im take his own example. "Suppose that in the arly stages of society the bows and arrows of the unter were of equal value with the implements of he fisherman. Under such circumstances the

very one of these definitions in its place: at present they can nly be given with extremest brevity; for in order to put the ubject at once in a connected form before the reader, I have rown into one, the opening definitions of four chapters: amely, of that on Value ("Ad Valorem"); on Price ("Thirty ieces"); on Production ("Demeter"); and on Economy 'The Law of the House").

value of the deer, the produce of the hunter's da labour, would be *exactly*" (italics mine) "equal the value of the fish, the product of the fisherma day's labour. The comparative value of the fi and game would be *entirely* regulated by the qua tity of labour realized in each." (Ricardo, cha iii. On Value.)

Indeed! Therefore, if the fisherman catch one sprat, and the huntsman one deer, one spr will be equal in value to one deer; but if t fisherman catches no sprat and the huntsman tw deer, no sprat will be equal in value to two deer

Nay; but—Mr. Ricardo's supporters may say- he means, on an average;—if the average produ of a day's work of fisher and hunter be one fi and one deer, the one fish will always be equal i value to the one deer.

Might I inquire the species of fish. Whale? whitebait?[1]

[1] Perhaps it may be said, in farther support of Mr. Ricard that he meant, "when the utility is constant or given, the pri varies as the quantity of labour." If he meant this, he shoul have said it; but, had he meant it, he could have hardly misse the necessary result, that utility would be one measure of pri (which he expressly denies it to be); and that, to prove sal ableness, he had to prove a given quantity of utility, as well a a given quantity of labour; to wit, in his own instance, tha the deer and fish would each feed the same number of men, fo the same number of days, with equal pleasure to their palate The fact is, he did not know what he meant himself. Th general idea which he had derived from commercial experience without being able to analyze it, was that when the deman is constant, the price varies as the quantity of labour require for production; or, using the formula I gave in last paper– when y is constant, $x\,y$ varies as x. But demand never is no can be ultimately constant, if x varies distinctly; for, as pric rises, consumers fall away; and as soon as there is a monopol (and all scarcity is a form of monopoly, so that every com modity is affected occasionally by some colour of monopoly) y becomes the most influential condition of the price. Thu

It would be waste of time to pursue these fallacies farther; we will seek for a true definition.

61. Much store has been set for centuries upon the use of our English classical education. It were to be wished that our well-educated merchants recalled to mind always this much of their Latin schooling,—that the nominative of *valorem* (a word already sufficiently familiar to them) is *valor;* a word which, therefore, ought to be familiar to them. *Valor*, from *valere*, to be well or strong (ὑγιαίνω);—strong, *in* life (if a man), or valiant; strong, *for* life (if a thing), or valuable. To be "valuable," therefore, is to "avail towards life." A truly valuable or availing thing is that which leads to life with its whole strength. In proportion as it does not lead to life, or as its strength is broken, it is less valuable; in proportion as it leads away from life, it is unvaluable or malignant.

The value of a thing, therefore, is independent

the price of a painting depends less on its merit than on the interest taken in it by the public; the price of singing less on the labour of the singer than the number of persons who desire to hear him; and the price of gold less on the scarcity which affects it in common with cerium or iridium, than on the sunlight colour and unalterable purity by which it attracts the admiration and answers the trust of mankind.

It must be kept in mind, however, that I use the word "demand" in a somewhat different sense from economists usually. They mean by it "the quantity of a thing sold." I mean by it "the force of the buyer's capable intention to buy." In good English, a person's "demand" signifies, not what he gets, but what he asks for.

Economists also do not notice that objects are not valued by absolute bulk or weight, but by such bulk and weight as is necessary to bring them into use. They say, for instance, that water bears no price in the market. It is true that a cupful does not, but a lake does; just as a handful of dust does not, but an acre does. And were it possible to make even the possession of a cupful or handful permanent (*i.e.*, to find a place for them), the earth and sea would be bought up by handfuls and cupfuls.

of opinion, and of quantity. Think what you wi of it, gain how much you may of it, the value c the thing itself is neither greater nor less. For eve it avails, or avails not; no estimate can raise, n disdain repress, the power which it holds from th Maker of things and of men.

The real science of political economy, which ha yet to be distinguished from the bastard science as medicine from witchcraft, and astronomy fron astrology, is that which teaches nations to desir and labour for the things that lead to life: and which teaches them to scorn and destroy the things that lead to destruction. And if, in a state o infancy, they supposed indifferent things, such as excrescences of shell-fish, and pieces of blue and red stone, to be valuable, and spent large measures of the labour which ought to be employed for the extension and ennobling of life, in diving or digging for them, and cutting them into various shapes,—or if, in the same state of infancy, they imagine precious and beneficent things, such as air, light, and cleanliness, to be valueless,—or if, finally, they imagine the conditions of their own existence, by which alone they can truly possess or use anything, such, for instance, as peace, trust, and love, to be prudently exchangeable, when the markets offer, for gold, iron, or excrescences of shells—the great and only science of Political Economy teaches them, in all these cases, what is vanity, and what substance; and how the service of Death, the Lord of Waste, and of eternal emptiness, differs from the service of Wisdom, the Lady of Saving, and of eternal fulness; she who has said, "I will cause those that love me to inherit SUBSTANCE; and I will FILL their treasures."

The "Lady of Saving," in a profounder sense
an that of the savings bank, though that is
good one: Madonna della Salute,—Lady of
lealth,—which, though commonly spoken of as
separate from wealth, is indeed a part of wealth.
his word, "wealth," it will be remembered, is
ie next we have to define.

62. "To be wealthy," says Mr. Mill, "is to have
large stock of useful articles."

I accept this definition. Only let us perfectly
nderstand it. My opponents often lament my
ot giving them enough logic: I fear I must at
resent use a little more than they will like; but
iis business of Political Economy is no light one,
id we must allow no loose terms in it.

We have, therefore, to ascertain in the above
efinition, first, what is the meaning of "having,"
: the nature of Possession. Then what is the
ieaning of "useful," or the nature of Utility.

And first of possession. At the crossing of the
ransepts of Milan Cathedral has lain, for three
undred years, the embalmed body of St. Carlo
orromeo. It holds a golden crosier, and has a
ross of emeralds on its breast. Admitting the
rosier and emeralds to be useful articles, is the
ody to be considered as "having" them? Do
ney, in the politico-economical sense of property,
elong to it? If not, and if we may, therefore,
onclude generally that a dead body cannot possess
roperty, what degree and period of animation in
ie body will render possession possible?

As thus: lately in a wreck of a Californian ship,
ne of the passengers fastened a belt about him
ith two hundred pounds of gold in it, with which
e was found afterwards at the bottom. Now, as

he was sinking—had he the gold? or had th gold him?[1]

And if, instead of sinking him in the sea by it weight, the gold had struck him on the forehead and thereby caused incurable disease—suppos palsy or insanity,—would the gold in that cas have been more a "possession" than in the first Without pressing the inquiry up through instance of gradually increasing vital power over the gol (which I will, however, give, if they are asked for I presume the reader will see that possession, o "having," is not an absolute, but a gradated power; and consists not only in the quantity o nature of the thing possessed, but also (and in greater degree) in its suitableness to the perso possessing it and in his vital power to use it.

And our definition of Wealth, expanded, be comes: "The possession of useful articles, *whic we can use.*" This is a very serious change. Fo wealth, instead of depending merely on a "have," is thus seen to depend on a "can." Gladiator' death, on a "habet"; but soldier's victory, an State's salvation, on a "quo plurimum posset." (Liv. VII. 6.) And what we reasoned of only a accumulation of material, is seen to demand als accumulation of capacity.

63. So much for our verb. Next for our ad jective. What is the meaning of "useful"?

The inquiry is closely connected with the last For what is capable of use in the hands of som persons, is capable, in the hands of others, of th opposite of use, called commonly "from-use," o "ab-use." And it depends on the person, much more than on the article, whether its usefulnes

[1] Compare George Herbert, "The Church Porch," Stanza 28

r ab-usefulness will be the quality developed in
. Thus, wine, which the Greeks, in their Bac-
hus, made rightly the type of all passion, and
hich, when used, "cheereth god and man" (that
s to say, strengthens both the divine life, or
easoning power, and the earthy, or carnal power,
f man); yet, when abused, becomes "Dionusos,"
urtful especially to the divine part of man, or
eason. And again, the body itself, being equally
able to use and to abuse, and, when rightly
isciplined, serviceable to the State, both for war
nd labour;—but when not disciplined, or abused,
alueless to the State, and capable only of con-
inuing the private or single existence of the in-
ividual (and that but feebly)—the Greeks called
uch a body an "idiotic" or "private" body,
rom their word signifying a person employed in
o way directly useful to the State; whence
nally, our "idiot," meaning a person entirely
ccupied with his own concerns.

Hence, it follows that if a thing is to be useful,
t must be not only of an availing nature, but in
vailing hands. Or, in accurate terms, usefulness
s value in the hands of the valiant; so that this
cience of wealth being, as we have just seen, when
egarded as the science of Accumulation, accumu-
ative of capacity as well as of material,—when
egarded as the Science of Distribution, is dis-
ribution not absolute, but discriminate; not of
very thing to every man, but of the right thing
o the right man. A difficult science, dependent
n more than arithmetic.

64. Wealth, therefore, is "THE POSSESSION OF
HE VALUABLE BY THE VALIANT"; and in con-
idering it as a power existing in a nation, the

two elements, the value of the thing, and t
valour of its possessor, must be estimated togeth
Whence it appears that many of the perso
commonly considered wealthy, are in reality
more wealthy than the locks of their own stro
boxes are, they being inherently and eternally i
capable of wealth; and operating for the natio
in an economical point of view, either as pools
dead water, and eddies in a stream (which, so lo
as the stream flows, are useless, or serve only
drown people, but may become of importance
a state of stagnation should the stream dry);
else, as dams in a river, of which the ultima
service depends not on the dam, but the mille
or else, as mere accidental stays and impediment
acting not as wealth, but (for we ought to have
correspondent term) as "illth," causing variou
devastation and trouble around them in all dire
tions; or lastly, act not at all, but are merely an
mated conditions of delay, (no use being possib
of anything they have until they are dead,)
which last condition they are nevertheless ofte
useful *as* delays, and "impedimenta," if a natio
is apt to move too fast.

65. This being so, the difficulty of the tru
science of Political Economy lies not merely in th
need of developing manly character to deal wit
material value, but in the fact, that while the manl
character and material value only form wealth b
their conjunction, they have nevertheless a mutu
ally destructive operation on each other. For th
manly character is apt to ignore, or even cast away
the material value:—whence that of Pope:—

> "Sure, of qualities demanding praise,
> More go to ruin fortunes, than to raise."

d on the other hand, the material value is apt undermine the manly character; so that it ust be our work, in the issue, to examine what idence there is of the effect of wealth on the nds of its possessors; also, what kind of person is who usually sets himself to obtain wealth, d succeeds in doing so; and whether the world es more gratitude to rich or to poor men, either their moral influence upon it, or for chief goods, coveries, and practical advancements. I may, wever, anticipate future conclusions, so far as to te that in a community regulated only by laws demand and supply, but protected from open lence, the persons who become rich are, gener- y speaking, industrious, resolute, proud, covet- s, prompt, methodical, sensible, unimaginative, ensitive, and ignorant. The persons who re- in poor are the entirely foolish, the entirely se,[1] the idle, the reckless, the humble, the oughtful, the dull, the imaginative, the sensitive, e well-informed, the improvident, the irregularly d impulsively wicked, the clumsy knave, the en thief, and the entirely merciful, just, and lly person.

56. Thus far, then, of wealth. Next, we have ascertain the nature of PRICE; that is to say, exchange value, and its expression by currencies. Note first, of exchange, there can be no *profit* it. It is only in labour there can be profit— at it is to say, a "making in advance," or "making favour of" (from proficio). In exchange, there only advantage, *i.e.*, a bringing of vantage or

[1] "ὁ Ζεὺς δήπου πένεται."—"Arist. Plut." 582. It would but ken the grand words to lean on the preceding ones:— ι τοῦ Πλούτου παρέχω βελτίονας, ἄνδρας, καὶ τὴν γνώμην, καὶ τὴν ν."

power to the exchanging persons. Thus, one ma by sowing and reaping, turns one measure of co into two measures. That is Profit. Another, digging and forging, turns one spade into t spades. That is Profit. But the man who h two measures of corn wants sometimes to di and the man who has two spades wants sometim to eat:—They exchange the gained grain for t gained tool; and both are the better for t exchange; but though there is much advanta in the transaction, there is no profit. Nothing constructed or produced. Only that which h been before constructed is given to the person whom it can be used. If labour is necessary effect the exchange, that labour is in reality i volved in the production, and, like all other labou bears profit. Whatever number of men are co cerned in the manufacture, or in the conveyanc have share in the profit; but neither the man facture nor the conveyance are the exchange, ar in the exchange itself there is no profit.

There may, however, be acquisition, which a very different thing. If, in the exchange, o man is able to give what cost him little labo for what has cost the other much, he "acquires a certain quantity of the produce of the other labour. And precisely what he acquires, the oth loses. In mercantile language, the person wh thus acquires is commonly said to have "made profit"; and I believe that many of our me chants are seriously under the impression tha it is possible for everybody, somehow, to mak a profit in this manner. Whereas, by the un fortunate constitution of the world we live in the laws both of matter and motion have quit

gorously forbidden universal acquisition of this nd. Profit, or material gain, is attainable only y construction or by discovery; not by exchange. Whenever material gain follows exchange, for very *plus* there is a precisely equal *minus*.

Unhappily for the progress of the science of olitical Economy, the plus quantities, or—if I ay be allowed to coin an awkward plural—e pluses, make a very positive and venerable ppearance in the world, so that every one is ger to learn the science which produces results magnificent; whereas the minuses have, on e other hand, a tendency to retire into back reets, and other places of shade,—or even to t themselves wholly and finally put out of ght in graves: which renders the algebra of this ience peculiar, and difficultly legible; a large mber of its negative signs being written by the count-keeper in a kind of red ink, which star- tion thins, and makes strangely pale, or even ite invisible ink, for the present.

67. The Science of Exchange, or, as I hear it s been proposed to call it, of "Catallactics," nsidered as one of gain, is, therefore, simply igatory; but considered as one of acquisition, is a very curious science, differing in its data d basis from every other science known. Thus: If I can exchange a needle with a savage for a mond, my power of doing so depends either on e savage's ignorance of social arrangements in rope, or on his want of power to take advantage them, by selling the diamond to any one else more needles. If, farther, I make the bargain completely advantageous to myself as possible, giving to the savage a needle with no eye in it

(reaching, thus a sufficiently satisfactory type
the perfect operation of catallactic science), t
advantage to me in the entire transaction depen
wholly upon the ignorance, powerlessness, or hee
lessness of the person dealt with. Do away wi
these, and catallactic advantage becomes i
possible. So far, therefore, as the science of e
change relates to the advantage of one of t
exchanging persons only, it is founded on t
ignorance or incapacity of the opposite perso
Where these vanish, it also vanishes. It is ther
fore a science founded on nescience, and an a
founded on artlessness. But all other sciences a
arts, except this, have for their object the doi
away with their opposite nescience and artlessnes
This science, alone of sciences, must, by all ava
able means, promulgate and prolong its opposi
nescience; otherwise the science itself is impo
sible. It is, therefore, peculiarly and alone t
science of darkness; probably a bastard scien
—not by any means a *divina scientia*, but o
begotten of another father, that father who, a
vising his children to turn stones into bread,
himself employed in turning bread into stone
and who, if you ask a fish of him (fish not bei
producible on his estate), can but give you
serpent.

68. The general law, then, respecting just
economical exchange, is simply this:—There mu
be advantage on both sides (or if only advantag
on one, at least no disadvantage on the other)
the persons exchanging; and just payment f
his time, intelligence, and labour, to any inte
mediate person effecting the transaction (commonl
called a merchant); and whatever advantage the

on either side, and whatever pay is given to the termediate person, should be thoroughly known all concerned. All attempt at concealment nplies some practice of the opposite, or un- vine science, founded on nescience. Whence nother saying of the Jew merchant's—"As a il between the stone joints, so doth sin stick st between buying and selling." Which peculiar veting of stone and timber, in men's dealings with ch other, is again set forth in the house which as to be destroyed—timber and stones together when Zechariah's roll (more probably "curved ord") flew over it: "the curse that goeth forth er all the earth upon every one that stealeth d holdeth himself guiltless," instantly followed the vision of the Great Measure;—the measure of the injustice of them in all the earth" (*αὕτη ἡ ἀδικία αὐτῶν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ*), with the weight of d for its lid, and the woman, the spirit of ckedness, within it;—that is to say, Wicked- ss hidden by dulness, and formalized, outwardly, o ponderously established cruelty. "It shall set upon its own base in the land of Babel."[1] 59. I have hitherto carefully restricted myself, speaking of exchange, to the use of the term dvantage"; but that term includes two ideas: advantage, namely, of getting what we *need*, l that of getting what we *wish for*. Three- rths of the demands existing in the world are nantic; founded on visions, idealisms, hopes, l affections; and the regulation of the purse in its essence, regulation of the imagination l the heart. Hence, the right discussion of the ure of price is a very high metaphysical and

[1] Zech. v. 11. See note on the passage, at p. 104, § 74.

psychical problem; sometimes to be solved o
in a passionate manner, as by David in his cou
ing the price of the water of the well by the g
of Bethlehem; but its first conditions are
following:—The price of anything is the quant
of labour given by the person desiring it, in or
to obtain possession of it. This price depends
four variable quantities. *A*. The quantity of w
the purchaser has for the thing; opposed to α,
quantity of wish the seller has to keep it. *B*.
quantity of labour the purchaser can afford,
obtain the thing; opposed to β, the quantity
labour the seller can afford, to keep it. Th
quantities are operative only in excess: *i.e.*,
quantity of wish (*A*) means the quantity of w
for this thing, above wish for other things; a
the quantity of work (*B*) means the quant
which can be spared to get this thing from
quantity needed to get other things.

Phenomena of price, therefore, are intens
complex, curious, and interesting—too compl
however, to be examined yet; every one of th
when traced far enough, showing itself at last a
part of the bargain of the Poor of the Flock
"flock of slaughter"), "If ye think good, g
ME my price, and if not, forbear"—Zech. xi.
but as the price of everything is to be calcula
finally in labour, it is necessary to define
nature of that standard.

70. Labour is the contest of the life of man w
AN opposite;—the term "life" including his in
lect, soul, and physical power, contending w
question, difficulty, trial, or material force.

Labour is of a higher or lower order, as it
cludes more or fewer of the elements of life: a

abour of good quality, in any kind, includes lways as much intellect and feeling as will fully nd harmoniously regulate the physical force.

In speaking of the value and price of labour, is necessary always to understand labour of a ven rank and quality, as we should speak of old or silver of a given standard. Bad (that is, artless, inexperienced, or senseless) labour can-ot be valued; it is like gold of uncertain alloy, flawed iron.[1]

The quality and kind of labour being given, its alue, like that of all other valuable things, is variable. But the quantity of it which must given for other things is variable: and in timating this variation, the price of other things ust always be counted by the quantity of labour; ot the price of labour by the quantity of other ings.

71. Thus, if we want to plant an apple sapling rocky ground, it may take two hours' work; soft ground, perhaps only half an hour. Grant e soil equally good for the tree in each case. hen the value of the sapling planted by two urs' work is nowise greater than that of the

[1] Labour which is entirely good of its kind, that is to say, ective, or efficient, the Greeks called "weighable," or ἄξιος, nslated usually "worthy," and because thus substantial and e, they called its price τιμή, the "honourable estimate" of honorarium): this word being founded on their conception rue labour as a divine thing, to be honoured with the kind honour given to the gods; whereas the price of false labour, of that which led away from life, was to be, not honour, but geance; for which they reserved another word, attributing exaction of such price to a peculiar goddess, called Tisi-one, the "requiter (or quittance-taker) of death"; a person sed in the highest branches of arithmetic, and punctual in habits; with whom accounts current have been opened also modern days.

sapling planted in half an hour. One will b
no more fruit than the other. Also, one h
hour of work is as valuable as another half-ho
nevertheless, the one sapling has cost four s
pieces of work, the other only one. Now,
proper statement of this fact is, not that
labour on the hard ground is cheaper than on
soft; but that the tree is dearer. The excha
value may, or may not, afterwards depend on t
fact. If other people have plenty of soft grou
to plant in, they will take no cognizance of
two hours' labour in the price they will offer
the plant on the rock. And if, through want
sufficient botanical science, we have planted
upas-tree instead of an apple, the exchange va
will be a negative quantity; still less proportion
to the labour expended.

What is commonly called cheapness of labo
signifies, therefore, in reality, that many obsta
have to be overcome by it; so that much lab
is required to produce a small result. But t
should never be spoken of as cheapness of labo
but as dearness of the object wrought for.
would be just as rational to say that walking
cheap, because we had ten miles to walk home
our dinner, as that labour was cheap, because
had to work ten hours to earn it.

72. The last word which we have to define
"Production."

I have hitherto spoken of all labour as pro
able; because it is impossible to consider un
one head the quality or value of labour, a
its aim. But labour of the best quality may
various in aim. It may be either construct
("gathering," from con and struo), as agricultu

ıgatory, as jewel-cutting; or destructive ("scat-ring," from de and struo), as war. It is ot, however, always easy to prove labour, ap-arently nugatory, to be actually so;[1] generally, ıe formula holds good: "he that gathereth not, attereth"; thus, the jeweller's art is probably ery harmful in its ministering to a clumsy and elegant pride. So that, finally, I believe nearly l labour may be shortly divided into positive and egative labour: positive, that which produces fe; negative, that which produces death; the ost directly negative labour being murder, and ıe most directly positive, the bearing and rearing children: so that in the precise degree in which urder is hateful, on the negative side of idleness, that exact degree child-rearing is admirable, on ıe positive side of idleness. For which reason, ıd because of the honour that there is in rearing[2] ildren, while the wife is said to be as the vine

[1] The most accurately nugatory labour is, perhaps, that of ich not enough is given to answer a purpose effectually, and ich, therefore, has all to be done over again. Also, labour ich fails of effect through non-co-operation. The curé of le village near Bellinzona, to whom I had expressed wonder at the peasants allowed the Ticino to flood their fields, told that they would not join to build an effectual embankment gh up the valley, because everybody said "that would help neighbours as much as himself." So every proprietor ilt a bit of low embankment about his own field; and the cino, as soon as it had a mind, swept away and swallowed up together.

[2] Observe, I say, "rearing," not "begetting." The praise is the seventh season, not in σπορητός, nor in φυταλία, but in ὥρα. It is strange that men always praise enthusiastically y person who, by a momentary exertion, saves a life; but aise very hesitatingly a person who, by exertion and self-nial prolonged through years, creates one. We give the wn "ob civem servatum";—why not "ob civem natum"? rn, I mean, to the full, in soul as well as body. England s oak enough, I think, for both chaplets.

(for cheering), the children are as the olive branc
for praise: nor for praise only, but for pea
(because large families can only be reared in tim
of peace): though since, in their spreading a
voyaging in various directions, they distribu
strength, they are, to the home strength, as arro
in the hand of the giant—striking here and the
far away.

Labour being thus various in its result, t
prosperity of any nation is in exact proportion
the quantity of labour which it spends in obtai
ing and employing means of life. Observe,—I sa
obtaining and employing; that is to say, n
merely wisely producing, but wisely distributi
and consuming. Economists usually speak as
there were no good in consumption absolute.[1] S
far from this being so, consumption absolute
the end, crown, and perfection of production; an
wise consumption is a far more difficult art tha
wise production. Twenty people can gain mone
for one who can use it; and the vital questio
for individual and for nation, is, never "how muc
do they make?" but "to what purpose do the
spend?"

73. The reader may, perhaps, have been su
prised at the slight reference I have hitherto mad
to "capital," and its functions. It is here th
place to define them.

Capital signifies "head, or source, or root mat
rial"—it is material by which some derivative
secondary good is produced. It is only capit
proper (caput vivum, not caput mortuum) whe

[1] When Mr. Mill speaks of productive consumption, he on
means consumption which results in increase of capital
material wealth. See I. iii. 4, and I. iii. 5.

t is thus producing something different from itself. t is a root, which does not enter into vital function ill it produces something else than a root: namely, ruit. That fruit will in time again produce roots; nd so all living capital issues in reproduction of apital; but capital which produces nothing but apital is only root producing root; bulb issuing n bulb, never in tulip; seed issuing in seed, never n bread. The Political Economy of Europe has itherto devoted itself wholly to the multiplica- ion, or (less even) the aggregation, of bulbs. It ever saw, nor conceived, such a thing as a tulip. Nay, boiled bulbs they might have been—glass ulbs—Prince Rupert's drops, consummated in owder (well, if it were glass-powder and not gun- owder), for any end or meaning the economists ad in defining the laws of aggregation. We will ry and get a clearer notion of them.

The best and simplest general type of capital s a well-made ploughshare. Now, if that plough- hare did nothing but beget other ploughshares, in polypous manner,—however the great cluster of olypous plough might glitter in the sun, it would ave lost its function of capital. It becomes true apital only by another kind of splendour,—when t is seen "splendescere sulco," to grow bright in he furrow; rather with diminution of its sub- tance, than addition, by the noble friction. And he true home question, to every capitalist and to very nation, is not, "how many ploughs have ou?" but, "where are your furrows?" not— how quickly will this capital reproduce itself?" —but, "what will it do during reproduction?" What substance will it furnish, good for life? what work construct, protective of life? if none,

its own reproduction is useless—if worse than none,—(for capital may destroy life as well as support it), its own reproduction is worse than useless; it is merely an advance from Tisiphone on mortgage—not a profit by any means.

74. Not a profit, as the ancients truly saw, and showed in the type of Ixion;—for capital is the head, or fountain head, of wealth—the "well head" of wealth, as the clouds are the well-heads of rain: but when clouds are without water, and only beget clouds, they issue in wrath at last instead of rain, and in lightning instead of harvest; whence Ixion is said first to have invited his guests to a banquet, and then made them fall into a pit filled with fire; which is the type of the temptation of riches issuing in imprisoned torment,—torment, in a pit, (as also Demas' silver mine,) after which, to show the rage of riches passing from lust of pleasure to lust of power, yet power not truly understood, Ixion is said to have desired Juno, and instead, embracing a cloud (or phantasm), to have begotten the Centaurs; the power of mere wealth being, in itself, as the embrace of a shadow,—comfortless, (so also "Ephraim feedeth on wind and followeth after the east wind"; or "that which is not"—Prov. xxiii. 5; and again Dante's Geryon, the type of avaricious fraud, as he flies, gathers the *air* up with retractile claws,—"l'aer a se raccolse,"[1]) but in its offspring, a

[1] So also in the vision of the women bearing the ephah, before quoted, "the wind was in their wings," not wings "of a stork," as in our version; but "*milvi*," of a kite, in the Vulgate, or perhaps more accurately still in the Septuagint, "hoopoe," a bird connected typically with the power of riches by many traditions, of which that of its petition for a crest of gold is perhaps the most interesting. The "Birds" of Aristophanes,

ingling of the brutal with the human nature: uman in sagacity—using both intellect and arrow; ut brutal in its body and hoof, for consuming, and ampling down. For which sin Ixion is at last ound upon a wheel—fiery and toothed, and roll- g perpetually in the air;—the type of human bour when selfish and fruitless (kept far into the iddle Ages in their wheel of fortune); the wheel hich has in it no breath or spirit, but is whirled y chance only; whereas of all true work the zekiel vision is true, that the Spirit of the living eature is in the wheels, and where the angels go, e wheels go by them; but move no otherwise.

75. This being the real nature of capital, it llows that there are two kinds of true produc- on, always going on in an active State: one of ed, and one of food; or production for the round, and for the Mouth; both of which are y covetous persons thought to be production only r the granary; whereas the function of the anary is but intermediate and conservative, ful- led in distribution; else it ends in nothing but ildew, and nourishment of rats and worms. nd since production for the Ground is only eful with future hope of harvest, all *essential* oduction is for the Mouth; and is finally mea- red by the mout hence, as I said above,

which its part is principal, are full of them; note especially e "fortification of the air with baked bricks, like Babylon," 550; and, again, compare the Plutus of Dante, who (to ow the influence of riches in destroying the reason) is the ly one of the powers of the Inferno who cannot speak in- ligibly; and also the cowardliest; he is not merely quelled restrained, but literally "collapses" at a word; the sudden d helpless operation of mercantile panic being all told in the ief metaphor, "as the sails, swollen with the wind, fall, when e mast breaks."

consumption is the crown of production; a
the wealth of a nation is only to be estima
by what it consumes.

The want of any clear sight of this fact is
capital error, issuing in rich interest and reve
of error among the political economists. Th
minds are continually set on money-gain, not
mouth-gain; and they fall into every sort of
and snare, dazzled by the coin-glitter as birds
the fowler's glass; or rather (for there is not mu
else like birds in them) they are like children try
to jump on the heads of their own shadows;
money-gain being only the shadow of the true ga
which is humanity.

76. The final object of political economy, the
fore, is to get good method of consumption, a
great quantity of consumption: in other wor
to use everything, and to use it nobly; whet
it be substance, service, or service perfecting s
stance. The most curious error in Mr. Mill's ent
work, (provided for him originally by Ricardo,
his endeavour to distinguish between direct a
indirect service, and consequent assertion that
demand for commodities is not demand for labo
(I. v. 9, *et seq.*). He distinguishes betwe
labourers employed to lay out pleasure groun
and to manufacture velvet; declaring that
makes material difference to the labouring clas
in which of these two ways a capitalist spe
his money; because the employment of
gardeners is a demand for labour, but the p
chase of velvet is not.[1] Error colossal, as well

[1] The value of raw material, which has, indeed, to be
ducted from the price of the labour, is not contemplated in
passages referred to, Mr. Mill having fallen into the mist

trange. It will, indeed, make a difference to the abourer whether we bid him swing his scythe in he spring winds, or drive the loom in pestilential ir; but, so far as his pocket is concerned, it makes o him absolutely no difference whether we order im to make green velvet, with seed and a scythe, r red velvet, with silk and scissors. Neither does anywise concern him whether, when the velvet made, we consume it by walking on it, or wear- ng it, so long as our consumption of it is wholly elfish. But if our consumption is to be in any- ise unselfish, not only our mode of consuming he articles we require interests him, but also the *ind* of article we require with a view to consump- on. As thus (returning for a moment to Mr. ill's great hardware theory [1]): it matters, so far s the labourer's immediate profit is concerned, not n iron filing whether I employ him in growing

lely by pursuing the collateral results of the payment of ages to middlemen. He says—"The consumer does not, th his own funds, pay the weaver for his day's work." Pardon e: the consumer of velvet pays the weaver with his own nds as much as he pays the gardener. He pays, probably, intermediate ship-owner, velvet merchant, and shopman; ys carriage money, shop rent, damage money, time money, d care money; all these are above and beside the velvet ice, (just as the wages of a head gardener would be above e grass price); but the velvet is as much produced by the nsumer's capital, though he does not pay for it till six months er production, as the grass is produced by his capital, though does not pay the man who rolled and mowed it on Monday, Saturday afternoon. I do not know if Mr. Mill's con- sion,—"the capital cannot be dispensed with, the purchasers n" (p. 98), has yet been reduced to practice in the City on y large scale.

[1] Which, observe, is the precise opposite of the one under amination. The hardware theory required us to discharge r gardeners and engage manufacturers; the velvet theory quires us to discharge our manufacturers and engage rdeners.

a peach, or forging a bombshell; but my probabl mode of consumption of those articles matter seriously. Admit that it is to be in both case "unselfish," and the difference, to him, is fina whether when his child is ill, I walk into his cottag and give it the peach, or drop the shell down hi chimney, and blow his roof off.

The worst of it, for the peasant, is, that th capitalist's consumption of the peach is apt to b selfish, and of the shell, distributive;[1] but, in al cases, this is the broad and general fact, that o due catallactic commercial principles, *somebody'* roof must go off in fulfilment of the bomb's destiny You may grow for your neighbour, at your liking grapes or grape-shot; he will also, catallactically grow grapes or grape-shot for you, and you wil each reap what you have sown.

77. It is, therefore, the manner and issue o

[1] It is one very awful form of the operation of wealth ir Europe that it is entirely capitalists' wealth which support unjust wars. Just wars do not need so much money to suppor them; for most of the men who wage such, wage them gratis but for an unjust war, men's bodies and souls have both to be bought; and the best tools of war for them besides; which makes such war costly to the maximum; not to speak of the cost of base fear, and angry suspicion, between nations which have not grace nor honesty enough in all their multitudes to buy an hour's peace of mind with: as, at present, France and England, purchasing of each other ten millions sterling worth of consternation annually, (a remarkably light crop, half thorns and half aspen leaves,—sown, reaped, and granaried by the "science" of the modern political economist, teaching covetousness instead of truth). And all unjust war being supportable, if not by pillage of the enemy, only by loans from capitalists, these loans are repaid by subsequent taxation of the people, who appear to have no will in the matter, the capitalists' will being the primary root of the war; but its real root is the covetousness of the whole nation, rendering it incapable of faith, frankness, or justice, and bringing about, therefore, in due time, his own separate loss and punishment to each person.

consumption which are the real tests of production. Production does not consist in things laboriously made, but in things serviceably consumable; and the question for the nation is not how much labour it employs, but how much life it produces. For as consumption is the end and aim of production, so life is the end and aim of consumption.

I left this question to the reader's thought two months ago,[1] choosing rather that he should work it out for himself than have it sharply stated to him. But now, the ground being sufficiently broken (and the details into which the several questions, here opened, must lead us, being too complex for discussion in the pages of a periodical, so that I must pursue them elsewhere), I desire, in closing the series of introductory papers, to leave this one great fact clearly stated. THERE IS NO WEALTH BUT LIFE. Life, including all its powers of love, of joy, and of admiration. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings; that man is richest who, having perfected the functions of his own life to the utmost, has also the widest helpful influence, both personal, and by means of his possessions, over the lives of others.

A strange political economy; the only one, nevertheless, that ever was or can be: all political economy founded on self-interest[2] being but the fulfilment of that which once brought schism into the Policy of angels, and ruin into the Economy of Heaven.

[1] [See above, §§ 40–41.]

[2] "In all reasoning about prices, the proviso must be understood, 'supposing all parties to take care of their own interest.'" —Mill, III. i. 5.

78. "The greatest number of human beings noble and happy." But is the nobleness consistent with the number? Yes, not only consistent with it, but essential to it. The maximum of life can only be reached by the maximum of virtue. In this respect the law of human population differs wholly from that of animal life. The multiplication of animals is checked only by want of food and by the hostility of races; the population of the gnat is restrained by the hunger of the swallow, and that of the swallow by the scarcity of gnats. Man, considered as an animal, is indeed limited by the same laws: hunger, or plague, or war, are the necessary and only restraints upon his increase,—effectual restraints hitherto,—his principal study having been how most swiftly to destroy himself, or ravage his dwelling-places, and his highest skill directed to give range to the famine, seed to the plague, and sway to the sword. But, considered as other than an animal, his increase is not limited by these laws. It is limited only by the limits of his courage and his love. Both of these *have* their bounds; and ought to have; his race has its bounds also; but these have not yet been reached, nor will be reached for ages.

79. In all the ranges of human thought I know none so melancholy as the speculations of political economists on the population question. It is proposed to better the condition of the labourer by giving him higher wages. "Nay," says the economist,—"if you raise his wages, he will either people down to the same point of misery at which you found him, or drink your wages away." He will. I know it. Who gave him this will? Suppose it

were your own son of whom you spoke, declaring to me that you dared not take him into your firm, nor even give him his just labourer's wages, because if you did he would die of drunkenness, and leave half a score of children to the parish. "Who gave your son these dispositions?"—I should enquire. Has he them by inheritance or by education? By one or other they *must* come; and as in him, so also in the poor. Either these poor are of a race essentially different from ours, and unredeemable (which, however often implied, I have heard none yet openly say), or else by such care as we have ourselves received, we may make them continent and sober as ourselves—wise and dispassionate as we are—models arduous of imitation. "But," it is answered, "they cannot receive education." Why not? That is precisely the point at issue. Charitable persons suppose the worst fault of the rich is to refuse the people meat; and the people cry for their meat, kept back by fraud, to the Lord of Multitudes.[1] Alas! it is not meat

[1] James v. 4. Observe, in these statements I am not taking up, nor countenancing one whit, the common socialist idea of division of property: division of property is its destruction; and with it the destruction of all hope, all industry, and all justice: it is simply chaos—a chaos towards which the believers in modern political economy are fast tending, and from which I am striving to save them. The rich man does not keep back meat from the poor by retaining his riches; but by basely using them. Riches are a form of strength; and a strong man does not injure others by keeping his strength, but by using it injuriously. The socialist, seeing a strong man oppress a weak one, cries out—"Break the strong man's arms;" but I say, "Teach him to use them to better purpose." The fortitude and intelligence which acquire riches are intended, by the Giver of both, not to scatter, nor to give away, but to employ those riches in the service of mankind; in other words, in the redemption of the erring and aid of the weak—that is to say, there is first to be the work to gain money; then the Sabbath

of which the refusal is cruelest, or to which t
claim is validest. The life is more than the me
The rich not only refuse food to the poor; th
refuse wisdom; they refuse virtue; they refu
salvation. Ye sheep without shepherd, it is n
the pasture that has been shut from you, but t
Presence. Meat! perhaps your right to that m
be pleadable; but other rights have to be plead
first. Claim your crumbs from the table if y
will; but claim them as children, not as dog
claim your right to be fed, but claim more loud
your right to be holy, perfect, and pure.

Strange words to be used of working peopl
"What! holy; without any long robes or anoi
ing oils; these rough-jacketed, rough-word
persons; set to nameless, dishonoured service
Perfect!—these, with dim eyes and cramp
limbs, and slowly wakening minds? Pure!
these, with sensual desire and grovelling though
foul of body and coarse of soul?" It may
so; nevertheless, such as they are, they are t
holiest, perfectest, purest persons the earth ca
at present show. They may be what you ha
said; but if so, they yet are holier than we wh
have left them thus.

But what can be done for them? Who ca

of use for it—the Sabbath, whose law is, not to lose life, but
save. It is continually the fault or the folly of the poor th
they are poor, as it is usually a child's fault if it falls into
pond, and a cripple's weakness that slips at a crossing; neve
theless, most passers-by would pull the child out, or help t
the cripple. Put it at the worst, that all the poor of the wor
are but disobedient children, or careless cripples, and that a
rich people are wise and strong, and you will see at once th
neither is the socialist right in desiring to make everybody poo
powerless, and foolish as he is himself, nor the rich man rig
in leaving the children in the mire.

othe—who teach—who restrain their multitudes ? hat end can there be for them at last, but to nsume one another ?

I hope for another end, though not, indeed, om any of the three remedies for over-popu- ion commonly suggested by economists.

80. These three are, in brief—Colonization ; inging in of waste lands ; or Discouragement Marriage.

The first and second of these expedients merely ade or delay the question. It will, indeed, be ng before the world has been all colonized, and deserts all brought under cultivation. But the dical question is, not how much habitable land n the world, but how many human beings ought be maintained on a given space of habitable id.

Observe, I say, *ought* to be, not how many *can* . Ricardo, with his usual inaccuracy, defines at he calls the "natural rate of wages" as hat which will maintain the labourer." Main- n him ! yes ; but how ?—the question was tantly thus asked of me by a working girl, whom I read the passage. I will amplify her estion for her. "Maintain him, how ?" As, st, to what length of life ? Out of a given mber of fed persons, how many are to be old how many young ? that is to say, will you range their maintenance so as to kill them early say at thirty or thirty-five on the average, in- ding deaths of weakly or ill-fed children ?—or as to enable them to live out a natural life ? u will feed a greater number, in the first case,[1]

[1] The quantity of life is the same in both cases; but it is erently allotted.

by rapidity of succession; probably a happ
number in the second: which does Mr. Rica
mean to be their natural state, and to which st
belongs the natural rate of wages?

Again: A piece of land which will only s
port ten idle, ignorant, and improvident perso
will support thirty or forty intelligent and ind
trious ones. Which of these is their natural sta
and to which of them belongs the natural rate
wages?

Again: If a piece of land support forty p
sons in industrious ignorance; and if, tired of t
ignorance, they set apart ten of their number
study the properties of cones, and the sizes
stars; the labour of these ten being withdra
from the ground, must either tend to the incre
of food in some transitional manner, or the p
sons set apart for sidereal and conic purposes m
starve, or some one else starve instead of the
What is, therefore, the natural rate of wages
the scientific persons, and how does this rate rel
to, or measure, their reverted or transitional p
ductiveness?

Again: If the ground maintains, at first, fo
labourers in a peaceable and pious state of mi
but they become in a few years so quarrelso
and impious that they have to set apart five,
meditate upon and settle their disputes;—t
armed to the teeth with costly instruments,
enforce the decisions; and five to remind eve
body in an eloquent manner of the existence o
God;—what will be the result upon the gene
power of production, and what is the "natu
rate of wages" of the meditative, muscular, a
oracular labourers?

31. Leaving these questions to be discussed, or ived, at their pleasure, by Mr. Ricardo's fol- vers, I proceed to state the main facts bearing that probable future of the labouring classes ich has been partially glanced at by Mr. Mill. at chapter and the preceding one differ from e common writing of political economists in ad- tting some value in the aspect of nature, and pressing regret at the probability of the destruc- n of natural scenery. But we may spare our xieties on this head. Men can neither drink am, nor eat stone. The maximum of popula- n on a given space of land implies also the rela- e maximum of edible vegetable, whether for n or cattle; it implies a maximum of pure air, l of pure water. Therefore: a maximum of od, to transmute the air, and of sloping ground, tected by herbage from the extreme heat of the , to feed the streams. All England may, if it chooses, become one manufacturing town; and glishmen, sacrificing themselves to the good of neral humanity, may live diminished lives in the lst of noise, of darkness, and of deadly exhala- n. But the world cannot become a factory, nor nine. No amount of ingenuity will ever make n digestible by the million, nor substitute hydro- for wine. Neither the avarice nor the rage of n will ever feed them; and however the apple Sodom and the grape of Gomorrah may spread ir table for a time with dainties of ashes, and tar of asps,—so long as men live by bread, the away valleys must laugh as they are covered h the gold of God, and the shouts of His happy ltitudes ring round the winepress and the well.

32. Nor need our more sentimental economists

fear the too wide spread of the formalities
mechanical agriculture. The presence of a
population implies the search for felicity as
as for food; nor can any population reach
maximum but through that wisdom which
joices" in the habitable parts of the earth.
desert has its appointed place and work;
eternal engine, whose beam is the earth's
whose beat is its year, and whose breath is
ocean, will still divide imperiously to their de
kingdoms bound with unfurrowable rock,
swept by unarrested sand, their powers of
and fire: but the zones and lands between, h
table, will be loveliest in habitation. The desi
the heart is also the light of the eyes. No s
is continually and untiringly loved, but one
by joyful human labour; smooth in field; fa
garden; full in orchard; trim, sweet, and freq
in homestead; ringing with voices of vivid e
ence. No air is sweet that is silent; it is
sweet when full of low currents of under sou
triplets of birds, and murmur and chirp of ins
and deep-toned words of men, and wayw
trebles of childhood. As the art of life is lear
it will be found at last that all lovely things
also necessary;—the wild flower by the ways
as well as the tended corn; and the wild b
and creatures of the forest, as well as the ten
cattle; because man doth not live by bread o
but also by the desert manna; by every wond
word and unknowable work of God. Happy
that he knew them not, nor did his fathers kn
and that round about him reaches yet into
infinite, the amazement of his existence.

83. Note, finally, that all effectual advance

vards this true felicity of the human race must by individual, not public effort. Certain eral measures may aid, certain revised laws de, such advancement; but the measure and which have first to be determined are those ach man's home. We continually hear it re-mmended by sagacious people to complaining ghbours (usually less well placed in the world n themselves), that they should "remain con-t in the station in which Providence has placed m." There are perhaps some circumstances of in which Providence has no intention that ple *should* be content. Nevertheless, the xim is on the whole a good one; but it is uliarly for home use. That your neighbour uld, or should not, remain content with *his* ition, is not your business; but it is very ch your business to remain content with your n. What is chiefly needed in England at the sent day is to show the quantity of pleasure t may be obtained by a consistent, well-ad-nistered competence, modest, confessed, and orious. We need examples of people who, ving Heaven to decide whether they are to rise the world, decide for themselves that they will happy in it, and have resolved to seek—not ater wealth, but simpler pleasure; not higher une, but deeper felicity; making the first of sessions, self-possession; and honouring them-ves in the harmless pride and calm pursuits of ce.

Of which lowly peace it is written that "jus-and peace have kissed each other"; and that fruit of justice is "sown in peace of them t make peace"; not "peace-makers" in the

common understanding—reconcilers of quarr
(though that function also follows on the gre
one ;) but peace-Creators ; Givers of Calm. W
you cannot give, unless you first gain ; nor is
gain one which will follow assuredly on any co
of business, commonly so called. No form of
is less probable, business being (as is show
the language of all nations—πωλεῖν from π
πρᾶσις from περάω, venire, vendre, and ve
from venio, etc.) essentially restless—and prob
contentious ;—having a raven-like mind to
motion to and fro, as to the carrion food ; whe
the olive-feeding and bearing birds look for
for their feet ; thus it is said of Wisdom that
"hath builded her house, and hewn out her se
pillars" ; and even when, though apt to wait
at the doorposts, she has to leave her house
go abroad, her paths are peace also.

84. For us, at all events, her work must begi
the entry of the doors : all true economy is "
of the house." Strive to make that law st
simple, generous : waste nothing, and gru
nothing. Care in nowise to make more of mo
but care to make much of it ; remembering alw
the great, palpable, inevitable fact—the rule
root of all economy—that what one person
another cannot have ; and that every atom
substance, of whatever kind, used or consume
so much human life spent ; which, if it issue
the saving present life, or gaining more, is
spent, but if not is either so much life prevent
or so much slain. In all buying, consider, fi
what condition of existence you cause in the
ducers of what you buy ; secondly, whether
sum you have paid is just to the producer, and

e proportion, lodged in his hands ;[1] thirdly, to
w much clear use, for food, knowledge, or joy,
s that you have bought can be put; and
rthly, to whom and in what way it can be
st speedily and serviceably distributed; in all
lings whatsoever insisting on entire openness
l stern fulfilment; and in all doings, on per-
tion and loveliness of accomplishment; especi-
on fineness and purity of all marketable
mmodity: watching at the same time for all
ys of gaining, or teaching, powers of simple
asure; and of showing "ὅσον ἐν ἀσφοδέλῳ μέγ'
ap"—the sum of enjoyment depending not on
quantity of things tasted, but on the vivacity
l patience of taste.

5. And if, on due and honest thought over
se things, it seems that the kind of existence
which men are now summoned by every plea
pity and claim of right, may, for some time at
st, not be a luxurious one;—consider whether,
n supposing it guiltless, luxury would be de-
d by any of us, if we saw clearly at our sides
suffering which accompanies it in the world.
xury is indeed possible in the future—innocent
l exquisite; luxury for all, and by the help of
; but luxury at present can only be enjoyed
the ignorant; the cruelest man living could not

[1] The proper offices of middlemen, namely, overseers (or
noritative workmen), conveyancers (merchants, sailors, retail
ers, etc.), and order-takers (persons employed to receive
ctions from the consumer), must, of course, be examined
re I can enter farther into the question of just payment of
first producer. But I have not spoken of them in these in-
uctory papers, because the evils attendant on the abuse
uch intermediate functions result not from any alleged
ciple of modern political economy, but from private care-
ess or iniquity.

sit at his feast, unless he sat blindfold. Raise
veil boldly; face the light; and if, as yet,
light of the eye can only be through tears,
the light of the body through sackcloth, go t
forth weeping, bearing precious seed, until
time come, and the kingdom, when Christ's gif
bread, and bequest of peace, shall be "Unto
last as unto thee"; and when, for earth's seve
multitudes of the wicked and the weary, th
shall be holier reconciliation than that of
narrow home, and calm economy, where
Wicked cease—not from trouble, but from tro
ling—and the Weary are at rest.

INDEX

[*The references are to the section, not to the page.*]

'SE, use and, 63.
umulation of capacity, not only of material, 63.
,, of material for its own sake ends in rottenness, 75.
uisition, profit distinct from, 66.
nis, "painted by a running brook," 59.
, value of such a picture, 59.
lteration, 23.
,, the least, to be avoided, 84.
antage, meaning of the word, 69.
ertisement, lying, 43.
ction, avarice or, which most constant in man, 1.
,, is a *debt* owed by one to another, and is thus part of justice, 7.
,, motives of, as influencing, *e.g.*, domestic servants, 8 *seqq.*
eeableness, relativity of, 59.
culture, serving one's country with the spade, *pref.* 6 (4).
emy, 1.
"a pot of the smallest," 59.
sgiving, justice before, 44.
rchy, a law of death, 54.
igonism, opposite interest need not cause—*e.g.*, starving mother and her children, 5.
tophanes, Birds (i. 550), on the hoopoe, 74 *n.*
totle, Plutus (582), ὁ Σεύς . . . . πένεται, 65 *n.*
ies, standing, cost of, 76 *n.*
imagination and, 49 *n.*
ology, 1.
,, 61.
onomy, must define a star? *pref* 3.
,, 61.
ior, movements of,
10 May, 1862, at Denmark Hill, *pref.* 7.
18 March, 1877, at Venice, *pref.* 5 *n.*

Author, writings of,
(*a*) accused of being illogical, 62.
plans for further works on economy, 77.
style of, not intemperate, *pref.* 5 *n.*
(*b*) quoted, &c.
A Joy for Ever (Polit. Economy of Art), "sold
of ploughshare and of sword," *pref.* 6 (4), 5
Modern Painters, vol. v., on anarchy and gov
ment, 54.
(*c*) *Sesame and Lilies*, s. 18, on author's style, *p*
5 *n.*
Stones of Venice, iii. 168, on free trade, 53 *n.*
Unto this Last,
adverse reception of, *pref.* 1.
author's high estimate of, *pref.* 1–2.
gist of, *pref.* 2 *seqq.*
publication in the *Cornhill*, *pref.* i.
titles of proposed further chapters, 59 *n.*
Authorship, bad, no money to be wasted on, 52 *n.*
Autolycus, 20.
Avarice, affection or, most constant in men? 1.
fraud and, Geryon typical of, 74.
Axe, executioner's and woodman's, are both productive, 57
ἄξιος, meaning of, 70 *n.*
Axle, the earth's, 82.

BACCHUS, Dionysos and, 63.
Banks, savings-, 61.
Barabbas, chosen before Christ, 44.
Bayonets, are they produce? 57, 58.
Beasts, supply and demand *their* law, but right the law of m
46 *n.*
Bellinzona, floods near (anecdote), 72 *n.*
Bible, on the poor and rich, 55.
,, popular acceptance and disregard of the, 55.
, quoted and referred to—

Genesis viii. 9, "No rest for . . . her foot," 83.
Exodus xv. 23, "Waters of Marah," 45.
Numbers xxvii. 17, "Sheep which have no shepherd," 79.
Judges ix. 13, "Wine which cheereth God and Man," 63.
Job iii. 17, "Wicked cease from *troubling*," . . . 85.
Ps. xlv. 14, "The King's daughters . . . glorious within," 43.
,, lxxxv. 13, "Righteousness and peace have kissed each oth
83.
,, cxxviii. 3, "Thy wife as a vine : . . thy children as
plants," 72.
Prov. iii. 16, "Length of days . . . riches and honour," 45 *n.*
,, 17, "Her ways pleasantness . . . paths peace," 83.

, quoted and referred to, *continued*:—
ov. viii. 21, "Those that love me . . . inherit substance . . . fill their treasures," 61.
,, 31, "Rejoicing in the habitable parts of the earth," 82.
,, ix. 1, "Wisdom builded her house . . . seven pillars," 83.
,, x. 2, "Treasures of wickedness profit nothing," 43.
,, xxi. 6, "Getting of treasures by a lying tongue," 43.
,, xxii. 2, "The rich and the poor meet," 44.
,, 16, "He that oppresseth the poor . . . shall come to want," 43.
,, 22, "Rob not the poor" . . . 43.
,, xxiii. 5, "Wilt thou set eyes on that which is not? for riches make themselves wings," 74.
osea xii. 1, "Ephraim feedeth on wind," 74.
abakkuk i. 14, "Fishes and creeping things that have no ruler over them," 46.
echariah v. 1, Zechariah's "flying roll," 68.
,, 3, "The curse . . . for every one that stealeth" (marginal version), 68.
,, 6–11, "Women with the ephah," 74 *n.*
,, 8, "The weight of lead upon the mouth thereof," 68.
,, 9, "The wind is in their wings . . . like the wings of a stork," 74 *n.*
,, 11, "Set there on its own base," 68.
,, xi. 7, "I will feed the flock of slaughter," 69.
,, 12, "If ye think good, give me my price . . . pieces of silver" (*motto*), 69.
alachi iv. 2, "Sun of righteousness arise with healing in his wings," 44.
att. iv. 3, "Command that these be made bread," 67.
,, 4, "Man . . . live by bread alone," 82.
,, v. 9, "Blessed are the peacemakers," 83.
,, vi. 24, "Ye cannot serve God and Mammon," 75.
,, 25, "Is not the life more than meat?" 79.
,, vii. 10, "If he ask a fish, will he give him a serpent?" 67.
,, xii. 30, "He that gathereth not . . . scattereth," 72.
,, xv. 27, "The dogs eat of the crumbs," 79.
,, xvi. 25, "Whosoever . . . lose his life . . . shall find it," 10.
,, xx. 13, "Unto this last even as unto thee" (*motto*), 85.
,, xxvii. 7, "The potter's field to bury strangers in," 38.
cts iii. 14, "Ye denied the Holy One and the Just," 44.
,, vii. 27, "Who made thee a ruler and a judge over us?" 44 *n.*
Cor. xv. 31, "I die daily," 17.
al. vi. 7, "What a man soweth . . . reap," 78.
Tim. vi. 10, "The love of money the root of all evil," 55.
mes iii. 18, "Sown in peace of them that make peace," 82.
,, v. 4, "Hire . . . kept back by fraud," 70 *n.*
ude 12, "Clouds they are without water," 74.
ev. xii. 7, "War in Heaven," 77.
, xxi. 7, "Water of life," 45.
ips, equality of salary among, 13.
mail, old methods of, 45.
, circulation of wealth and, compared, 32.
the "red ink" of starvation, 66.

Bombs, are they produce? 57.
,, price of, *ib.*
,, production of peaches and, (illustration), 76.
Borromeo St. Carlo, tomb of, Milan, 62.
Bread, price of, and the corn laws, 53.
Building, true economy of good, 28.
Bulbs, reproduction of nothing but (modern political econo
73.
Bulk, as affecting price and value, 60 *n.*
Burial, state ; a dignity not a disgrace, *pref.* 6 (4).
Buying, what to consider in, 84.
Byzants, 40.

CALIFORNIAN miner, drowned by his belt of gold, (illustrati
62.
Capacity, accumulation of, 63.
,, to use, no wealth without it, 62.
Capital, meaning of, 73.
,, power of, as lord of toil, to be checked, 55.
,, ,, destructive, 73.
,, reproduces itself, 73.
,, the root only, and dead till it bears fruit, *ib.*
,, the well-head of wealth, 74.
Capitalists, unjust wars supported by their wealth, 76 *n.*
Caput vivum et mortuum, 73.
Carlyle quoted, "Fritz is with us, he is worth 50,000 men,"
Catallactics (exchange), science of, 67.
Centaurs, parentage of, the, 74.
Character, is inherited or induced, 79.
,, material wealth and, antagonistic, 65.
,, true political economy should develop, *ib.*
Cheapness, and dearness of labour and things, 71.
Cheating, wealth may indicate, 37.
Children, delicate and manufactured, their "protecti
(illustration), 53 *n.*
labour of bearing and rearing, noble, 72.
,, large families of, their strength, 73.
,, leaping over their own shadows, (illustration), 7
Choice and rule, justice of, 44 *n.*
Christ, Barabbas chosen before, 44.
Christopher Sly. *See* s. Shakespeare.
Church. *See* s. Clergymen.
Cicero, wealth defined by, *pref.* 2.
Circulation of wealth and blood compared, 32.
Clan, esprit de corps of a Highland, 12.
Classical education, English respect for a, 61.
Clergymen, respect for, on what based, 18–21.
Clouds without water (Jude 12) destructive, 74.

nisation, over-population and, 80.
nerce, despised, and why, 17 *seqq.*
,, good faith, the root of, 23,
,, heroisms and martyrdoms even in, 26.
missions, all secret, deprecated, 68.
modities, exchangeable, value of, 47 *n.*,
,, for sale only or consumption? 57.
petition, a law of death, 54.
,, free trade and, 53 *n.*
,, oppression of, recoils on the oppressor, 53.
,, wages as affected by, *ib.*
tructive, meaning of the word, 72.
umption, absolute, productive, wise, 72 *n.*
,, aim of all, is life, 77.
,, production aims at, not only at sale, 57.
,, ,, crowned by it, 75.
,, ,, tested by it, 77.
,, selfish and unselfish, 76.
entment in "that station of life, &c.," 83.
peration, a law of life, 54.
laws, repeal of the, 53.
elia, "These are my jewels," 41.
ose, can things be possessed by a, 62.
on spinner, can his employés have esprit de corps? 12.
ntry, which is the richest, 77.
etousness, unjust war and, 67 *n.*
lit, modern system of, 45.
vns for life saved, why not for life nobly formed, 72 *n.*
rency. *See* s. Money.
om-houses. *See* s. Free Trade.

TE, quoted or referred to—
, L'uno in Eterno, 55.
, Geryon, "l'aer a se raccolse," 74 *n.*
, on the stars eagle-eyed and winged, 46.
, Plutus inarticulate, and why, 74 *n.*
id counting the price of the water, 69.
rness of article and cheapness of labour, 71.
th, "due occasions" of, 21.
, ill-gotten wealth ends only in, 43.
, knowledge of when to die means knowledge of how to live, 22.
, pursued by or pursuing us, 43.
, ,, by us (Tisiphone), 70 *n.*
, the requisites of, 70 *n.*
, the wealthy are often useful only in, 64
nand, author's definition of, 604.
,, constancy of, and price, 60 *n.*

Demand, moral element in, 59 *n.*
,, price of labour regulated by, 13.
,, romanticity of most of our demands, 69.
,, supply and, a law for beasts, not men, 46 *n.*
,, ,, as affecting over- and under-pay, 47.
,, ,, not an absolute law, 45.
,, ,, steadiness of, desirable, 15.
Demas, silver mine of, 74.
Desert, the, has its function, 82.
See s. Island.
Desire, and need, distinct, 69.
Destructive, meaning of, 72.
Diamonds, needles and, supposed exchange of, 67.
Dickens, caricature of, always true, 10 *n.*
,, Bleak House (Esther and Charlie), *ib.*
,, Hard Times, its value, *ib.*
,, Master Humphrey's Clock (Miss Brass and the chioness), *ib.*
δικαστὴς, 44 *n.*
Dionysos, Bacchus and, 63.
Disposition as affecting demand, 59 *n.*
Dura plains, 38.

Economy in the household, 28.
,, is house-law, *pref.* 3, 84.
,, law of, life the aim of all substance, 84.
Education, classical, 61.
,, government, what it should include, *pref.* 6 and
,, of the poor, 79.
,, technical, *pref.* 6 (1).
See s. Ethics.
Emotion in art, 49 *n.*
Employment, a necessary luxury, 54 *n.*
,, finding, *ib.*
See s. Master, Workman.
Engine, the eternal, of nature, 82.
England, future of wealth of, in her sons, 41.
,, oak enough for crowns in honour of lives both sa and created, 81.
,, steel of, 53 *n.*
,, to become one large manufacturing town? 81.
Enjoyment, on what dependent, 84.
Envy, loss to science through, 49 *n.*
Equality impossible, 54.
Equity, the meaning of, 44 *n.*
Esprit-de-corps in a regiment, why not in a factory? 12.
Ethics in education, enforce gentleness and justice, *pref.* 6 (
Exchange, accurate, the only just payment, 48 *n.*

hange, price and, 66.
,, profit impossible in just, 66.
,, ,, in, means loss to somebody, 66.
,, the science of, founded on some one's ignorance, 67.
,, true law of just, 68.
ediency, act not according to, but justice, 7.

MER, duty of a, 28.
of loss, not the only motive of human action, *pref.* s. and *n.*
first or duty first, the test of a man, 22.
ree work defined, 58 *n.*
live by law of supply and demand, 46 *n.*
none in hell, 67.
er and hunter, supposed exchange of, their game (Ricardo quoted), 60.
ign loans, war and, 76 *n.*
une, mediæval wheel of, 74.
ler's glass, birds and the (illustration), 75.
trade, advocated, reciprocal or not, 53 *n.*
itz is with us—worth 50,000 men," 49 *n.*
ows of more value than the plough that made them, 73.

DENING, productive labour of, 76 *n.*
eralships, not put up to auction, 13.
yon. *See* s. Dante.
, the only light for rich and poor, 44.
conda, adamant of, 41.
l, invisible, its power, 39.
price of, on what dependent, 60 *n.*
ernment, a law of life, 54.
See s. Education, Manufactures, Schools, Work.
cchi. *See* s. Cornelia.
nary, function of a, to store for distribution, not till things rot, 75.
pes, or grape-shot? 76.

LTERS, are they productive? 57 *n.*
ppiness, the greatest, of greatest number, 78.
dware manufactures, illustrations, 56.
See s. Mill.
lth, laws of, every child to learn, *pref.* 6 (1).
, part of wealth, 61.
rt, purse and, regulation of, 69.
ven, war in, 77.
l, no fish in, 67.
ps (Sir Arthur), "Essay on War," 57 *n.*
bert, George, "Church Porch," 62 *n.*

Highwaymen, old, and modern merchant; their form
robbery, 43.
Holiness, right of the poor to, 79.
Holy or helpful, 44.
Home, joy in one's, 83.
Honesty, attainable? *pref.* 4, 5.
,, faith in, must be recovered, *pref.* 5.
,, organisation of labour and, *pref.* 5.
Honorarium, meaning of, 70 *n.*
Hoopoe, the, typical of the power of riches, 74 ***n.***
Horace on wealth, *pref.* 2.
Horseshoeing, illustration from, 48.
Housemaids, engagement of, (illustration), 31 *n.*
Humanity, *the* thing to gain, 75.
Hunger, as checking population, 78.
Hunter, fisher and, supposed exchange between, (illustration

IDIOT, etymological meaning of, 63.
Idleness, positive and negative sides of, 72.
Idlers, how to be made to work, *pref.* 6 (3).
,, manufacture of, 31 *n.*
Imagination in art, 49 *n.*
Impedimenta, the wealthy as, 64.
Indus, sands of the, 41.
Inequality of wealth, its power, 30.
Injustice, a denial of rule, 46.
,, "in all the earth," 68.
Ink, the blood-red, of starvation, 66.
Interest on money, principle of, 48.
Intermittent work, its evils, 15–16.
Investigation, teaching and, distinct, *pref.* 2 *n.*
Island, castaways on a desert, (illustration), 33 *segq.*
Ixion and Juno, 74.
,, banquet of, *ib.*
,, wheel of, 74.

JEWELLERY, pride of, 72.
,, work on cutting, nugatory, *ib.*
Joys, unpurchaseable, 39.
Judge, respect for, on what based, 18, 26.
Juno, Ixion and, 74.
Justice, absolute, is unattainable, but practical is, 47.
,, healing power of, 44.
,, essence of true wealth, 38.
,, result of, certain; that of expediency uncertain, 7
,, the true basis of conduct, *ib.*
Jurisprudence, human and divine, 46.

NGS, modern idea of, 46.

BOUR, agricultural, its dignity, *pref.* 6 (4).
,, aim of, and kinds of (constructive, nugatory, destructive), 72.
,, cheapness of, a misnomer for dearness of thing, 71.
,, demand for commodities is demand for, 57 *n.*
,, divinity of true, 70 *n.*
,, divisions of, into positive and negative, 72.
,, employment of, less important than production of life, 77.
,, exchangeable value of, and commodities, 47 *n.*
,, high and low, good and bad, 70.
,, market price of, and money, 47 *n.*
,, national prosperity and, 72.
,, nature of, as life contest, 76.
,, nugatory, 72.
,, organisation of, *pref.* 2.
,, ,, made easy by honesty, *pref.* 5.
,, payment of. *See* s. Price, Value, Wages.
,, price determined by, 69 *seqq.*
,, of, how to estimate, 70 *n.*
,, profit the fruit of, 66.
,, quality of, fixed, its quantity variable, 70 *n.*
wyers, respect for, on what based, 18–21.
,, their function, 46 *n.*
,, word derivation, *ib.*
, etymology of, 45 *n.*
, all substance means some human, 84.
art of lovely, 82.
consumption aims at, 77.
creating (by training), as great as saving it (by courage), 72 *n.*
meaning of, as applied to labour, 70.
means body *and* soul, 72 *n.*
production of, *the* National question, 77.
quiet, its loveliness, 83
the only wealth, 77.
virtue and, the maximum of each co-essential, 78.
ht, God's, 44.
erature, payment of, 52 *n.*
y, ii. 16, on Valerius Publicola, *pref.* 6 (4).
vii. 6, *quo plurimum posset*, 62.
s, temporary, often a necessary result of our duty, 16.
xury, crime, a costly, *pref.* 6 *n.*
,, impossible if we think of co-existent misery, 85.
,, wealth and, 37.

MADONNA della Salute, meaning of, 61.
Maintenance of labourers, but of what kind? 80.
Manliness despises wealth and is undermined by it, 65.
Manufactories, government, *pref.* 6 *n.*
Marah, waters of, 45.
Market, "buy in cheapest, sell in dearest," 19, 38, 49.
Marriage, restraint of, and over-population, 80.
Masters, workmen and, reciprocal interests of, 6 *seqq.*
Meat, badness of, in London markets, 60.
Mercantile and political economy distinct, 26, 28.
Merchant, duty of, in times of hardship, 24.
,, ,, to his employés, as sons, 24.
,, functions of, as a purveyor, 22 *seqq.*
,, ,, as employing labour, 24.
,, ,, 68.
,, selfish abuse of his duty, 36.
,, supposed selfishness of, reason why he is despi
17, 19 *seqq.*
μεριστὴς, 44 *n.*
Middlemen, 84 *n.*
Milan Cathedral, St. Carlo Borromeo's tomb, 62.
Mill-owner. *See* s. Cotton spinner.
Mill, J. S., inconsistency of, shown, 58 *seqq.*, 76 *n.*
Mill, J. S., quoted:—

on capital, 56.
as necessary, though purchasers are not, 76 *n.*
,, comparative estimate of the moralist, 57.
,, consumption, 75 *n.*
,, ,, and labour, demand for, 76.
,, hardware merchant, (illustration), 76.
,, labour, definition, 49 *n.*
,, natural scenery, its value, 81.
,, political economy, its aim, 59.
,, poor, future of the, 81.
,, self-interest, 77 *n.*
,, thought, 49 *n.*
,, usefulness, 58–59.
,, value, 59.
,, wealth, no definition attempted, *pref.* 2.
,, ,, 59.
,, ,, 61.
,, velvet as an article of production, 76 *n.*

Millionaires, some no more wealthy than their own str
boxes, 64.
Mines, work in, who to do it, *pref.* 6 (3).
Money-bags are not wealthy, 64.
,, difficulty of expressing value in it, does not affect
true principle of value, 49.
,, -gain, and mouth-gain, 75.

ney, make always much of it, but not more of it, 84.
, spending of, not making, *the* question, 72.
, power of, imperfect and doubtful, 30, 39.
, true nature of, defined, 34 *n*, 47 and *n*.
nopoly, effect of, 60 *n*.
alist, comparative estimate of, and political economy, 57.
her, and starving children, 5.
ives, high and low, *pref.* 5 and *n*.
ith-gain and money-gain, 75.
der, *the* negative labour, 72.

TURAL scenery, value of (Mill), 81.
d, desire and, what we want and wish for, distinct, 69.
dles, diamonds and, supposed exchange of, 67.
leness, the greatest, of the greatest number, 78.

UPATION, a necessary luxury, 54 *n*.
provision for the, *pref.* 6 (4).
ression recoils on the oppressor, 53.
oa, 72 *n*.
ἐν ἀσφοδέλῳ γέγ' ὄνειαρ, 84.
r-population, local only, as yet, 53.

SLEY, correspondent from, 53 *n*.
ion, author's use of the word, 49 *n*.
, overlooked by modern political economists, *ib*.
ence, value of, in labour, 49 *n*.
onage of the rich, 30, 39, 51.
ment, just, true principles of, 48 *seqq*.
,, over- and under-, 47.
e, beauty of, 83.
large families only possible in times of, 72.
-maker, 82.
hes or bombs? (illustration), 76.
ions, state, for old and destitute, *pref.* 6 (4).
λια, 72 *n*.
icians, all paid alike, 13–14.
,, respect for, its true ground, 18–21.
res, price of, on what dependent, 60 *n*.
ue, as checking over-population, 78.
s, success of, less than truth of principle, *pref.* 7.
, wealth defined by, *pref.* 2.
ghshare, a type of capital, 57, 73.
ghs or furrows, which most important? 73.
is. *See* s. Dante.
et-picking, 45.
ῖν, 83.

Political Economy:
author's creed in, summarised, *pref.* 6.
,, ,, is not socialistic, 54.
definition essential to, 62.
mercantile distinct from, 26–28.
popular, a *soi-disant* science, 1.
,, its basis plausible but fallacious,
its conclusions true but its basis f
"the science of getting rich," 26.
,, ,, ,, ,, justly
45–46.
self-interest the one motive of, 77
unconcerned with ethics or phil
57.
reductio ad absurdum of this view
true, defined, 28.
final aim of, noble use of everything,
practical and eternal truths of, 25.
real lessons of, 61.
of Art. *See* s. Author. Books of, quoted.
Poor, claim on the rich of, 79.
,, degraded, will they insist on being? 79.
,, disobedient children, 79 *n.*
,, distress and wages of, 53.
,, education of, 79.
,, justice, not alms or sermons most needed by, 41.
,, keeping others, is the art of getting rich oneself,
,, kind of character that remains, 65.
,, not unredeemable, 79.
,, may be holy, perfect, and pure, 79.
,, oppressed by misuse of riches, 79 *n.*
,, probable future of, 81.
,, remain poor by their own fault, 79 *n.*
,, robbing the, 43, 54.
See s. Rich.
Pope, moral standard of, *pref.* 5.
quoted:—
"An honest man's the noblest work of God," *pref.* 4.
"Each does but hate his neighbour as himself," 53.
"More go to ruin fortunes than to raise," 65.
Population, checks on, 78.
,, increase of, in men and beasts, 78.
,, over-, only local as yet, 78–79.
,, ,, remedies usually suggested for, 80.
,, wealth and, 40.
Possession, what is, 62.
,, wealth alone is not, 62.

ɔt of the smallest ale," 59.
erty, affected by wages, 52.
der, consummation in, 73.
ris, 83.
ıching, justice more needed by the poor than, 44.
e, always calculable in labour, 69 *seqq.*
bulk and weight as affecting, 60 *n.*
nature of, 66.
,, on what dependent, 69.
,, psychical and metaphysical, *ib.*
what a man gives or takes not a true test of just, 49.
ce Rupert's drops, (tulip, illustration), 73.
ciples, truth of, more than success of plans, *pref.* 7.
ons, good schools mean empty, 31 *n.*
luction, consumption crowns, 75.
,, ,, tests, 77.
,, definition of, 56 *seqq.*
,, nature of, 72 *seqq.*
,, object of, seed and food, 75.
essions, the five great intellectual, 21.
icio, meaning of, 66.
it, acquisition distinct from, 66.
attainable only by labour, not exchange, 66.
etymology of, 66.
is in labour, not in price, 66.
gress, human, by individual not public effort, 83.
perty, division of, author does not advocate, 79 *n.*
, poor not to steal that of rich, *or rich that of poor*, 54.
, security of, to be enforced, *ib.*
perity, national, and labour, 72.
ection, free trade and, 53 *n.*
lence, jurisprudence and, 46.
e, heart and, their regulation, 69.

judicatis terram, 42, 46.

P, what we sow we must, 76.
procity and free trade advocated, 53 *n.*
gion, modern, both professed and disregarded, 55.
etymology of, 44 *n.*
rdo, error of, on demand for labour and commodities, 76.
, on "the natural rate of wages," 80–81.
, ,, usefulness and value, 60 and *n.*
, employment to be sought by the, 54 *n.*
law of counteraction of poor and, 44.
oppress the poor by misuse of their wealth, 79 *n.*
rob the poor, 43, 54.
es, getting of, is by keeping others poor, 27.

Riches, getting of, methods of, 45.
,, race for wealth, 16.
,, raging to be rich, 16.
,, ,, ,, ,, its catastrophe, 74.
,, relativity of, 27.
,, strength of, 79 *n.*
,, what man and country the richest, 77.
Right, laws of, and those of supply and demand, 46 *n.*
Righteousness, marked by love of justice and truth, 47.
,, justice and equity, true meaning of, 44 *n.*
Rogues, manufacture of, 31 *n.*
Rope, hangman's, is it productive? 57 *n.*
Royalty, true, 46.
Rule and choice, justice of, 44 *n.*

SABBATH, the, for the use of wealth, 79 *n.*
Sailors. *See* s. Island castaways.
Saints, modern idea of, 46.
Salaries, of all important labour fixed, why not also workm
wages? 13.
Sale, consumption and, distinct, 57 *n.*
Sanctity, true, or saintliness, 46.
Sapling, planted in good and poor soil, (illustration), 71.
Savage, exchanging diamonds for needles, (illustration), 67.
Saving life by courage, and forming it by care, 72 *n.*
,, the Lady of, 61.
Savings banks, 61.
Scenery, natural, cannot all be abolished, 81.
,, ,, love of, needs change of aspect, 82.
,, ,, value of, (J. S. Mill), 81.
Schools, government, what to teach, *pref.* 6 and *n.*
,, reform of, before that of prisons, 31 *n.*
Science, will not make men agree, 5.
See s. Political Economy, Riches.
Scotsman, correspondent of the, referred to, 52 *n.*
Scribblers of rubbish, not to be employed at all, 52 *n.*
Sea, streams flowing to, an image of action of wealth, 44–45
Seed, production of, essential to the State, 75.
Self-interest, in political economy, 77 *n.*
,, -possession, the first of possessions, 83.
Selfishness of commerce, the true reason for the contempt o
17–19.
Septuagint, referred to on the hoopoe, 74 *n.*
Sermons, justice better than many, 44.
Servants, domestic:—
,, *esprit-de-corps* of old family, 12.
,, treatment of, and its results, 8 *seqq.*
,, willing, how to get, 9.

ants (domestic), worthless, and wealth, 39.
ice, direct and indirect, 76.
, free gift of, 48.
kespeare, Christopher Sly, 69.
wright, duty of a, 28.
r vases of Spain, broken into bullion to avoid duty, 57 *n.*
ware and hardware, are they produce? 57.
plicity, beauty of, 83.
er, economy of voice by a, 28.
price of, on what dependent, 60 *n.*
l, author's use of the word, 49 *n.*
th, Adam, *Wealth of Nations*, on motives of honesty, *pref.* 5 *n.*
th, Elder & Co., publishers, 52 *n.*
alism, author opposed to, 54, 79 *n.*
,, the chaos of, 79 *n.*
,, where more progressive, 54.
om and Gomorrah, 81.
ier, *esprit-de-corps* of, and affection, 11.
, love of, its true ground, 17.
, profession of readiness to *be slain*, 17, 21.
, sword and ploughshare, *pref.* 6 (4), 54.
mon, a Gold Coast merchant, 42.
,, his proverbs now interesting because so novel, 42.
See s. Bible, quoted.
s, noble, an element in national wealth, 41.
, we must reap what we, 76.
n, silver vases of, broken to avoid duty, 57 *n.*
ific gravity, value compared to, 49.
ding money, methods of, more important than the amount made, 72.
,, ,, what to consider in, 84.
ητός, 72 *n.*
dard, government, of all articles of commerce advocated *pref.* 6 (2).
vation, the "red ink" of, 66.
ving mother and her children, (illustration), 5.
ams, flowing to the sea, wealth and. *See* s. Sea.
kes, political economy no check on, 4.
ng boxes, some millionaires no richer than their own, 64.
eriority of some men over others, an eternal law, 54.
ply and demand. *See* s. Demand.

XATION, burden of, and wages, 53.
,, unjust war and, 76 *n.*
ching, and investigation, distinct, *pref.* 2 *n.*
rs, treasures heavy with, 37.
ptation and riches, 74.

Theft, by rich from poor as well as by poor from rich, 54.
Things are for use, not only for sale, 57.
Thought, value of mere, 49 *n.*
Ticino, floods of the, 72 *n.*
τιμή, meaning of, 70 *n.*
Tisiphone, the goddess, 70 *n*, 73.
Treasure, heavy with tears, 37.
Truth, absolute, unattainable, 47.
Tulips, (illustration), 73.
Tuscany, oil of, 53 *n.*
Tyranny, wealth may indicate, 37.

ὑγιαίνω, meaning of, 61.
Under-pay, result of, shown, 50 *seqq.*
Unemployed, work for the, 54 and *n.*
Upas tree, 71.
Use and abuse, 63.
,, noble, of everything, the aim of true economy, 76.
,, not sale only, the object of manufacture, 57.
Usefulness, definition of, 58, 63.
,, dependent on opportunity, 59.
,, Ricardo on, 60.

VALERIUS PUBLICOLA, Livy on, *pref.* 6 (4).
Valor, meaning of the Latin, 61.
Valuable, things really, 61.
Value, definition of, Mill, 59.
,, ,, Ricardo, 60.
,, etymology and true meaning of, 61.
,, moral elements as affecting, 59 *n.*
,, true, absolute, 61.
,, weight and bulk as affecting, 60 *n.*
Vanity, substance and, 61.
Velvet, manufacture of in grass or silk, walked on, or worn,
Venal, meaning of, 83.
Venetians, their respect for Solomon, 42.
Venice, church in the market, inscription, *pref.* 5 *n.*
,, Ducal Palace, Solomon's angle, 42.
Virgil, "splendescere sulco," 73.
Virtue, and life, the maximum of each co-essential, 78.
Vulgate, quoted:—

Prov. xxii. 2, "Dives et pauper, obviaverunt sibi," 44.
Zech. v. 9, "Habebant alas milvi," 74 *n.*

WAGES, competition in, 53.
,, difficult to fix the true amount of, in money, 49.
,, equality of all, essential to equality of good wo
13–14, 52 *n.*

'ages, fixed, *pref.* 2; *pref.* 6 (3), 12 *seqq.*
,, just, of advantage to master and workmen, 6.
,, ,, *the* question for the poor, 53, 56.
,, rate of, dependent on *steady* work, 15.
,, ,, "natural," Ricardo on, 80.
,, rise in, will it raise the poor? 79.
,, unjust, their result as regards labour and workmen, 50 *seqq.*
'alking, cheap, (illustration), 71.
ar, as a check on over-population, 78.
,, unjust, covetousness and, 76 *n.*
,, ,, supported by capitalists, *ib.*
,, ,, taxation and, *ib.*
aste, guard against, 28.
aste-land and over-population, 80.
ater, price of, 60 *n.*
ealth, acquisition of, conditions of, *pref.* 4.
,, action of, compared to streams flowing to the sea, 44-45.
,, actual and commercial, 28.
,, attributes of, 38.
,, character as affected by, 65.
,, ,, what kind of, acquires it, *ib.*
,, circulation of blood and of, 32.
,, definition of, essential to political economy, *pref.* 2, 3.
,, ,, Mill, 59.
,, ,, true, 62, 64.
,, dependent on capacity to use it, 62, 64.
,, desire for, is desire for power, 30.
,, distribution of, must be discriminate, 63.
,, health part of, 61.
,, ill-gotten or well, 42.
,, ,, results in death, 43.
,, "illth" and, 64.
,, inequality of, when beneficial, 31.
,, labour essential to realise, 29.
,, life the only real, 77.
,, mere *brutally human*, 74.
,, ,, shadow, 74.
,, moral sources of, *the* question about it, 38.
,, national, depends on abstract justice, 37.
,, political and mercantile, inverse ratio of, 35 *seqq.*
,, possession need not be, 62.
,, power of, and labour, 28 *seqq.*, 39, 55, 74 and *n.*
,, useless without labour, 29.
,, veins of true, in flesh or rock? 40.
,, what does it indicate? *the* question about it, 38.
ealthy, the, compared to dangerous eddies or their own money-bags, &c., 64.

Weight, bulk or, as affecting price, 60 *n.*
,, or worth, the same, 70 *n.*
Wickedness, spirit of, 68.
Wine, use and abuse of, 63.
Witchcraft, 1, 61.
Wordsworth, quoted, *Excursion*, 20.

"Live by admiration, hope, and love," 77.

Work, a necessary luxury, 54 *n.*
,, aim of, to avoid idleness or hunger, 54 *n.*
,, best, never done for money, 52 *n.*
,, government to provide, *pref.* 6.
,, steadiness of, and the rate of wages, 15–16.
,, too much of this good thing, possible, 54 *n.*
Workhouse relief, not to be disgraceful, *pref.* 6 (4).
Workshop, England to become one big? 81.
————s, Government, *pref.* 6 (2).
World, the, cannot be all destroyed, 81.
,, ,, rising in, 83.
Worth, weight or, 70 *n.*

XENOPHON, wealth defined by, *pref.* 2.

MUNERA PULVERIS

MUNERA PULVERIS

SIX ESSAYS

ON THE ELEMENTS OF

POLITICAL ECONOMY

BY

JOHN RUSKIN

[*Bibliographical Note.—The essays collected in "Munera Pulveris" originally appeared in "Fraser's Magazine," 1862–1863, under the title of "Essays on Political Economy, being a sequel to papers which appeared in the 'Cornhill Magazine,' by John Ruskin." As in the case of the "Cornhill" papers, those in "Fraser's Magazine" were stopped, the editor, J. A. Froude, partly, and the publishers wholly, losing courage in the face of the public reception of the essays.*

Ruskin did not collect them till 1872, when, with considerable revision and rearrangement, they appeared under the title of "Munera Pulveris" as the second volume of the new series of his works. Since then they have been frequently reprinted; the present issue completes the thirty-seventh thousand. There has been no revision of the text since 1872, but the numerous variations between it and the original essays are given in the Library Edition of Ruskin's Works (Vol. XVII.), in the Introduction to which the meaning of the title is fully discussed.]

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	145
DEFINITIONS	163
STORE-KEEPING	182
COIN-KEEPING	216
COMMERCE	240
GOVERNMENT	254
MASTERSHIP	285
APPENDICES	309
INDEX	317

PREFACE

1. The following pages contain, I believe, the first accurate analysis of the laws of Political Economy which has been published in England. Many treatises, within their scope, correct, have appeared in contradiction of the views popularly received; but no exhaustive examination of the subject was possible to any person unacquainted with the value of the products of the highest industries, commonly called the "Fine Arts"; and no one acquainted with the nature of those industries has, so far as I know, attempted, or even approached, the task.

So that, to the date (1863) when these Essays were published, not only the chief conditions of the production of wealth had remained unstated, but the nature of wealth itself had never been defined. "Every one has a notion, sufficiently correct for common purposes, of what is meant by wealth," wrote Mr. Mill, in the outset of his treatise; and contentedly proceeded, as if a chemist should proceed to investigate the laws of chemistry without endeavouring to ascertain the nature of fire or water, because every one had a notion of them, "sufficiently correct for common purposes."[23]

2. But even that apparently indisputable

statement was untrue. There is not one person i ten thousand who has a notion sufficiently correct even for the commonest purposes, of "what i meant" by wealth; still less of what wealt everlastingly *is*, whether we mean it or not which it is the business of every student c economy to ascertain. We, indeed, know (eithe by experience or in imagination) what it is t be able to provide ourselves with luxurious food and handsome clothes; and if Mr. Mill ha thought that wealth consisted only in these, o in the means of obtaining these, it would hav been easy for him to have so defined it wit perfect scientific accuracy. But he knew better he knew that some kinds of wealth consisted i the possession, or power of obtaining, other thing than these; but, having, in the studies of hi life, no clue to the principles of essential value he was compelled to take public opinion as th ground of his science; and the public, of course willingly accepted the notion of a science founde on their opinions.

3. I had, on the contrary, a singular advantage not only in the greater extent of the field of in vestigation opened to me by my daily pursuits but in the severity of some lessons I accidentall received in the course of them.

When, in the winter of 1851, I was collectin materials for my work on Venetian architecture three of the pictures of Tintoret on the roof of th School of St. Roch were hanging down in ragge fragments, mixed with lath and plaster, round th apertures made by the fall of three Austrian heav shot. The city of Venice was not, it appeared rich enough to repair the damage that winter; an

ıckets were set on the floor of the upper room of ıe school to catch the rain, which not only fell rectly through the shot holes, but found its way, ving to the generally pervious state of the roof, ırough many of the canvases of Tintoret in other ırts of the ceiling.

4. It was a lesson to me, as I have just said, no ss direct than severe; for I knew already at that me (though I have not ventured to assert, until cently at Oxford,) that the pictures of Tintoret Venice were accurately the most precious articles wealth in Europe, being the best existing pro-ıctions of human industry. Now at the time at three of them were thus fluttering in moist gs from the roof they had adorned, the shops of ıe Rue Rivoli at Paris were, in obedience to a eadily-increasing public Demand, beginning to ow a steadily-increasing Supply of elaborately ıished and coloured lithographs, representing the odern dances of delight, among which the cancan ıs since taken a distinguished place.

5. The labour employed on the stone of one these lithographs is very much more than Tin-ret was in the habit of giving to a picture of erage size. Considering labour as the origin value, therefore, the stone so highly wrought ould be of greater value than the picture; and ıce also it is capable of producing a large ımber of immediately saleable or exchangeable ıpressions, for which the "demand" is constant, ıe city of Paris naturally supposed itself, and on l hitherto believed or stated principles of political onomy, was, infinitely richer in the possession of large number of these lithographic stones, (not speak of countless oil pictures and marble

carvings of similar character), than Venice in the possession of those rags of mildewed canvas, flaunting in the south wind and its salt rain. And, accordingly, Paris provided (without thought of the expense) lofty arcades of shops, and rich recesses of innumerable private apartments, for the protection of these better treasures of hers from the weather.

6. Yet, all the while, Paris was not the richer for these possessions. Intrinsically, the delightful lithographs were not wealth, but polar contraries of wealth. She was, by the exact quantity of labour she had given to produce these, sunk below, instead of above, absolute Poverty. They not only were false Riches—they were true *Debt* which had to be paid at last—and the present aspect of the Rue Rivoli shows in what manner.

And the faded stains of the Venetian ceiling, all the while, were absolute and inestimable wealth. Useless to their possessors as forgotten treasure in a buried city, they had in them, nevertheless, the intrinsic and eternal nature of wealth; and Venice, still possessing the ruins of them, was a rich city; only, the Venetians had *not* a notion sufficiently correct even for the very common purpose of inducing them to put slates on a roof, of what was "meant by wealth."

7. The vulgar economist would reply that his science had nothing to do with the qualities of pictures, but with their exchange-value only; and that his business was, exclusively, to consider whether the remains of Tintoret were worth as many ten-and-sixpences as the impressions which might be taken from the lithographic stones.

But he would not venture, without reserve, to

nake such an answer, if the example be taken in iorses, instead of pictures. The most dull econo- nist would perceive, and admit, that a gentleman vho had a fine stud of horses was absolutely richer han one who had only ill-bred and broken-winded ones. He would instinctively feel, though his seudo-science had never taught him, that the rice paid for the animals, in either case, did not lter the fact of their worth ; that the good horse, hough it might have been bought by chance for a ew guineas, was not therefore less valuable, nor he owner of the galled jade any the richer, be- ause he had given a hundred for it.

8. So that the economist, in saying that his cience takes no account of the qualities of pic- ures, merely signifies that he cannot conceive of ny quality of essential badness or goodness exist- ng in pictures ; and that he is incapable of in- vestigating the laws of wealth in such articles. Which is the fact. But, being incapable of de- ining intrinsic value in pictures, it follows that ie must be equally helpless to define the nature f intrinsic value in painted glass, or in painted ottery, or in patterned stuffs, or in any other ational produce requiring true human ingenuity. Nay, though capable of conceiving the idea of ntrinsic value with respect to beasts of burden, o economist has endeavoured to state the general rinciples of National Economy, even with regard o the horse or the ass. And, in fine, *the modern olitical economists have been, without exception, ncapable of apprehending the nature of intrinsic alue at all.*

9. And the first specialty of the following reatise consists in its giving at the outset, and

maintaining as the foundation of all subseque
reasoning, a definition of Intrinsic Value, a
Intrinsic Contrary-of-Value; the negative pow
having been left by former writers entirely o
of account, and the positive power left entire
undefined.

But, secondly: the modern economist, ignori
intrinsic value, and accepting the popular estima
of things as the only ground of his science, h
imagined himself to have ascertained the consta
laws regulating the relation of this popular dema
to its supply; or, at least, to have proved th
demand and supply were connected by heaven
balance, over which human foresight had no pow
I chanced, by singular coincidence, lately to s
this theory of the law of demand and supp
brought to as sharp practical issue in anoth
great siege, as I had seen the theories of intrins
value brought, in the siege of Venice.

10. I had the honour of being on the committ
under the presidentship of the Lord Mayor
London, for the victualling of Paris after h
surrender. It became, at one period of our s
tings, a question of vital importance at wh
moment the law of demand and supply wou
come into operation, and what the operation
it would exactly be: the demand on this occasio
being very urgent indeed; that of several millio
of people within a few hours of utter starvatio
for any kind of food whatsoever. Neverthele
it was admitted, in the course of debate, to
probable that the divine principle of demand a
supply might find itself at the eleventh hour, a
some minutes over, in want of carts and horse
and we ventured so far to interfere with the divi

inciple as to provide carts and horses, with haste hich proved, happily, in time for the need; but ot a moment in advance of it. It was farther cognised by the committee that the divine prin- ple of demand and supply would commence its erations by charging the poor of Paris twelve- nce for a penny's worth of whatever they anted; and would end its operations by offering em twelve-pence worth for a penny, of whatever ey didn't want. Whereupon it was concluded the committee that the tiny knot, on this ecial occasion, was scarcely "*dignus vindice*," the divine principle of demand and supply: d that we would venture, for once, in a profane anner, to provide for the poor of Paris what ey wanted, when they wanted it. Which, to e value of the sums entrusted to us, it will be membered we succeeded in doing.

11. But the fact is that the so-called "Law," hich was felt to be false in this case of extreme igence, is alike false in cases of less exigence. is false always, and everywhere. Nay, to such extent is its existence imaginary, that the lgar economists are not even agreed in their count of it; for some of them mean by it, only at prices are regulated by the relation between mand and supply, which is partly true; and hers mean that the relation itself is one with e process of which it is unwise to interfere; a tement which is not only, as in the above stance, untrue; but accurately the reverse of the uth: for all wise economy, political or domestic, nsists in the resolved maintenance of a given ation between supply and demand, other than e instinctive, or (directly) natural, one.

12. Similarly, vulgar political economy asse for a "law" that wages are determined by co petition.

Now I pay my servants exactly what wage think necessary to make them comfortable. T sum is not determined at all by competition; h sometimes by my notions of their comfort a deserving, and sometimes by theirs. If I w to become penniless to-morrow, several of th would certainly still serve me for nothing.

In both the real and supposed cases the called "law" of vulgar political economy absolutely set at defiance. But I cannot set t law of gravitation at defiance, nor determine th in my house I will not allow ice to melt, wh the temperature is above thirty-two degrees. true law outside of my house will remain a tr one inside of it. It is not, therefore, a law Nature that wages are determined by competitio Still less is it a law of State, or we should not n be disputing about it publicly, to the loss of ma millions of pounds to the country. The fact whi vulgar economists have been weak enough to i agine a law, is only that, for the last twenty yea a number of very senseless persons have attempt to determine wages in that manner; and have, a measure, succeeded in occasionally doing so.

13. Both in definition of the elements of wealt and in statement of the laws which govern its d tribution, modern political economy has been th absolutely incompetent, or absolutely false. A the following treatise is not as it has been assert with dull pertinacity, an endeavour to put sen ment in the place of science; but it contains t exposure of what insolently pretended to be

ence; and the definition, hitherto unassailed—
d I do not fear to assert, unassailable—of the
aterial elements with which political economy
s to deal, and the moral principles in which it
nsists; being not itself a science, but "a system
conduct founded on the sciences, and impossible,
cept under certain conditions of moral culture."
hich is only to say, that industry, frugality, and
cretion, the three foundations of economy, are
ral qualities, and cannot be attained without
ral discipline: a flat truism, the reader may
nk, thus stated, yet a truism which is denied
th vociferously, and in all endeavour, by the
ire populace of Europe; who are at present
peful of obtaining wealth by tricks of trade,
hout industry; who, possessing wealth, have
t in the use of it even the conception,—how
ch more the habit?—of frugality; and who,
the choice of the elements of wealth, cannot so
ch as lose—since they have never hitherto at
y time possessed,—the faculty of discretion.

4. Now if the teachers of the pseudo-science
economy had ventured to state distinctly even
poor conclusions they had reached on the
jects respecting which it is most dangerous
a populace to be indiscreet, they would have
n found, by the use made of them, which were
e, and which false.

But on main and vital questions, no political
nomist has hitherto ventured to state one
ding principle. I will instance three sub-
s of universal importance. National Dress.
tional Rent. National Debt.

Now if we are to look in any quarter for
ystematic and exhaustive statement of the

principles of a given science, it must certainly be from its Professor at Cambridge.

15. Take the last edition of Professor Fawcett's *Manual of Political Economy*, and forming, first, clearly in your mind these three following questions, see if you can find an answer to them.

I. Does expenditure of capital on the production of luxurious dress and furniture tend to make a nation rich or poor?

II. Does the payment, by the nation, of a tax on its land, or on the produce of it, to a certain number of private persons, to be expended by them as they please, tend to make the nation rich or poor?

III. Does the payment, by the nation, for an indefinite period, of interest on money borrowed from private persons, tend to make the nation rich or poor?

These three questions are, all of them, perfectly simple, and primarily vital. Determine these, and you have at once a basis for national conduct in all important particulars. Leave them undetermined, and there is no limit to the distress which may be brought upon the people by the cunning of its knaves, and the folly of its multitudes.

I will take the three in their order.

16. (I.) Dress. The general impression on the public mind at this day is, that the luxury of the rich in dress and furniture is a benefit to the poor. Probably not even the blindest of our political economists would venture to assert this in so many words. But where do they assert the contrary? During the entire period of the reign of the late Emperor it was assumed in France as the first principle of fiscal government, that

portion of the funds received as rent from provincial labourer should be expended in the ufacture of ladies' dresses in Paris. Where e political economist in France, or England, ventured to assert the conclusions of his ce as adverse to this system? As early as year 1857 I had done my best to show the re of the error, and to give warning of its er;[1] but not one of the men who had the sh ears of the people intent on their words, d to follow me in speaking what would have an offence to the powers of trade; and the rs of trade in Paris had their full way for een years more,—with this result, to-day,— ld us in precise and curt terms by the Minister ublic Instruction,[2]—

We have replaced glory by gold, work by specula- faith and honour by scepticism. To absolve or y immorality; to make much of loose women; atify our eyes with luxury, our ears with the tales gies; to aid in the manœuvres of public robbers, applaud them; to laugh at morality, and only ve in success; to love nothing but pleasure, adore ng but force; to replace work with a fecundity of es; to speak without thinking; to prefer noise ory; to erect sneering into a system, and lying an institution—is this the spectacle that we have ?—is this the society that we have been?"

course, other causes, besides the desire of ry in furniture and dress, have been at work roduce such consequences; but the most e cause of all has been the passion for these;

olitical Economy of Art. (Now *A Joy for Ever*,— XI. of the Revised Series of Entire Works,—pp. 47–56.)
e report of speech of M. Jules Simon, in *Pall Mall e* of October 27th, 1871.

passion unrebuked by the clergy, and, for t most part, provoked by economists, as adva tageous to commerce; nor need we think th such results have been arrived at in France onl we are ourselves following rapidly on the sar road. France, in her old wars with us, never w so fatally our enemy as she has been in the fello ship of fashion, and the freedom of trade: nc to my mind, is any fact recorded of Assyrian Roman luxury more ominous, or ghastly, tha one which came to my knowledge a few wee ago, in England; a respectable and well-to-d father and mother, in a quiet north country tow being turned into the streets in their old age, the suit of their only daughter's milliner.

17. (II.) Rent. The following account of th real nature of rent is given, quite accurately, b Professor Fawcett, at page 112 of the last editio of his *Political Economy*:—

"Every country has probably been subjugated, ar grants of vanquished territory were the ordinary r wards which the conquering chief bestowed upon h more distinguished followers. Lands obtained by for had to be defended by force; and before law ha asserted her supremacy, and property was made secur no baron was able to retain his possessions, unless tho who lived on his estates were prepared to defer them. . . .[1] As property became secure, and lan lords felt that the power of the State would prote them in all the rights of property, every vestige of the feudal tenures was abolished, and the relation betwee landlord and tenant has thus become purely con mercial. A landlord offers his land to any one who willing to take it; he is anxious to receive the highe rent he can obtain. What are the principles whic regulate the rent which may thus be paid?"

[1] The omitted sentences merely amplify the statement; th in no wise modify it.

These principles the Professor goes on con-ntedly to investigate, never appearing to con-emplate for an instant the possibility of the rst principle in the whole business—the mainte-ance, by force, of the possession of land obtained y force, being ever called in question by any uman mind. It is, nevertheless, the nearest isk of our day to discover how far original theft iay be justly encountered by reactionary theft, r whether reactionary theft be indeed theft at ll; and farther, what, excluding either original r corrective theft, are the just conditions of the ossession of land.

18. (III.) Debt. Long since, when, a mere boy, used to sit silently listening to the conversation f the London merchants who, all of them good nd sound men of business, were wont occasionally o meet round my father's dining-table, nothing sed to surprise me more than the conviction penly expressed by some of the soundest and iost cautious of them, that "if there were no Iational debt they would not know what to do vith their money, or where to place it safely." it the 399th page of his Manual, you will find 'rofessor Fawcett giving exactly the same state-ient—

> "In our own country, this certainty against risk of oss is provided by the public funds;"

nd again, as on the question of rent, the Professor roceeds, without appearing for an instant to be roubled by any misgiving that there may be an ssential difference between the effects on national rosperity of a Government paying interest on noney which it spent in fireworks fifty years ago,

and of a Government paying interest on mon to be employed to-day on productive labour.

That difference, which the reader will fi stated and examined at length, in §§ 127–129 this volume, it is the business of economis before approaching any other question relati to government, fully to explain. And the pa graphs to which I refer, contain, I believe, t only definite statement of it hitherto made.

19. The practical result of the absence of a such statement is, that capitalists, when they not know what to do with their money, persua the peasants, in various countries, that the sa peasants want guns to shoot each other wit The peasants accordingly borrow guns, out of t manufacture of which the capitalists get a pe centage, and men of science much amusement a credit. Then the peasants shoot a certain numb of each other, until they get tired; and burn ea other's homes down in various places. Then th put the guns back into towers, arsenals, etc., ornamental patterns; (and the victorious par put also some ragged flags in churches). A then the capitalists tax both, annually, ever afte wards, to pay interest on the loan of the gu and gunpowder. And that is what capitalis call "knowing what to do with their money" and what commercial men in general call "pra tical" as opposed to "sentimental" Politic Economy.

20. Eleven years ago, in the summer of 186 perceiving then fully, (as Carlyle had done lo before), what distress was about to come on t said populace of Europe through these errors their teachers, I began to do the best I might,

nbat them, in the series of papers for the *rnhill Magazine*, since published under the title *Unto this Last*. The editor of the Magazine s my friend, and ventured the insertion of the ee first essays; but the outcry against them ame then too strong for any editor to endure, l he wrote to me, with great discomfort to nself, and many apologies to me, that the gazine must only admit one Economical Essay re.

made, with his permission, the last one longer n the rest, and gave it blunt conclusion as well I could—and so the book now stands; but, I had taken not a little pains with the Essays, l knew that they contained better work than st of my former writings, and more important ths than all of them put together, this violent robation of them by the *Cornhill* public set me l more gravely thinking; and, after turning the tter hither and thither in my mind for two rs more, I resolved to make it the central work my life to write an exhaustive treatise on itical Economy. It would not have been un, at that time, however, had not the editor *Fraser's Magazine* written to me, saying that believed there was something in my theories, l would risk the admission of what I chose write on this dangerous subject; whereupon, tiously, and at intervals, during the winter of 2–63, I sent him, and he ventured to print, preface of the intended work, divided into r chapters. Then, though the Editor had not olly lost courage, the Publisher indignantly erfered; and the readers of *Fraser*, as those of *Cornhill*, were protected, for that time, from

farther disturbance on my part. Subseque
loss of health, family distress, and various
toward chances, prevented my proceeding
the body of the book;—seven years have pa
ineffectually; and I am now fain to reprint
Preface by itself, under the title which I inte
for the whole.

21. Not discontentedly; being, at this tim
life, resigned to the sense of failure; and
because the preface is complete in itself
body of definitions, which I now require
reference in the course of my *Letters to Workn*
by which also, in time, I trust less formall
accomplish the chief purpose of *Munera Pul*
practically summed in the two paragraphs
and 28: namely, to examine the moral re
and possible rectifications of the laws of di
bution of wealth, which have prevailed hith
without debate among men. Laws which ordi
economists assume to be inviolable, and w
ordinary socialists imagine to be on the ev
total abrogation. But they are both alike
ceived. The laws which at present regulate
possession of wealth are unjust, because
motives which provoke to its attainment
impure; but no socialism can effect their abr
tion, unless it can abrogate also covetousness
pride, which it is by no means yet in the wa
doing. Nor can the change be, in any cas
the extent that has been imagined. Extreme
luxury may be forbidden, and agony of pe
relieved; but nature intends, and the uti
efforts of socialism will not hinder the fulfil
of her intention, that a provident person
always be richer than a spendthrift; and

genious one more comfortable than a fool. But, leed, the adjustment of the possession of the oducts of industry depends more on their ture than their quantity, and on wise deter- nation therefore of the aims of industry. A tion which desires true wealth, desires it mode- tely, and can therefore distribute it with kind- ss, and possess it with pleasure; but one which sires false wealth, desires it immoderately, and n neither dispense it with justice, nor enjoy it peace.

22. Therefore, needing, constantly in my pre- nt work, to refer to the definitions of true d false wealth given in the following Essays, I publish them with careful revisal. They were ritten abroad; partly at Milan, partly during a nter residence on the south-eastern slope of the ont Salève, near Geneva; and sent to London as legible MS. as I could write; but I never vised the press sheets, and have been obliged, cordingly, now to amend the text here and ere, or correct it in unimportant particulars. Wherever any modification has involved change the sense, it is enclosed in square brackets; d what few explanatory comments I have lt it necessary to add, have been indicated in e same manner. No explanatory comments, I gret to perceive, will suffice to remedy the mis- ief of my affected concentration of language, to the habit of which I fell by thinking too long er particular passages, in many and many a litary walk towards the mountains of Bonne- lle or Annecy. But I never intended the book r anything else than a dictionary of reference, d that for earnest readers; who will, I have

good hope, if they find what they want in forgive the affectedly curt expressions.

The Essays, as originally published, were, I have just stated, four in number. I h now, more conveniently, divided the whole i six chapters; and (as I purpose throughout t edition of my works) numbered the paragraphs

I inscribed the first volume of this series the friend who aided me in chief sorrow. me inscribe the second to the friend and gu who has urged me to all chief labour, THO CARLYLE.

23. I would that some better means were my power of showing reverence to the man v alone, of all our masters of literature, has writt without thought of himself, what he knew it be needful for the people of his time to hear the will to hear were in them: whom, therefo as the time draws near when his task must ended, Republican and Free-thoughted Engl assaults with impatient reproach; and out the abyss of her cowardice in policy and dishon in trade, sets the hacks of her literature to sp evil, grateful to her ears, of the Solitary Teac who has asked her to be brave for the help Man, and just, for the love of God.

DENMARK HILL,
25th November, 1871.

MUNERA PULVERIS

TE MARIS ET TERRÆ NUMEROQUE CARENTIS ARENÆ
MENSOREM COHIBENT, ARCHYTA,
PULVERIS EXIGUI PROPE LITUS PARVA MATINUM
MUNERA."

CHAPTER I

DEFINITIONS

. As domestic economy regulates the acts and abits of a household, Political Economy regu-tes those of a society or State, with reference to ıe means of its maintenance.

Political Economy is neither an art nor a ience; but a system of conduct and legisla-ıre, founded on the sciences, directing the arts, nd impossible, except under certain conditions of ıoral culture.

2. The study which lately in England has been alled Political Economy is in reality nothing ıore than the investigation of some accidental henomena of modern commercial operations, nor as it been true in its investigation even of these. t has no connection whatever with political conomy, as understood and treated of by the reat thinkers of past ages; and as long as its nscholarly and undefined statements are allowed o pass under the same name, every word written

on the subject by those thinkers—and chiefly
words of Plato, Xenophon, Cicero, and Baco
must be nearly useless to mankind. The rea
must not, therefore, be surprised at the care
insistance with which I have retained the lit
and earliest sense of all important terms used
these papers; for a word is usually well made
the time it is first wanted; its youngest mean
has in it the full strength of its youth; sub
quent senses are commonly warped or weaken
and as all careful thinkers are sure to have u
their words accurately, the first condition, in or
to be able to avail ourselves of their sayings
all, is firm definition of terms.

3. By the "maintenance" of a State is to
understood the support of its population in heal
and happy life; and the increase of their numb
so far as that increase is consistent with th
happiness. It is not the object of political e
nomy to increase the numbers of a nation at
cost of common health or comfort; nor to
crease indefinitely the comfort of individuals,
sacrifice of surrounding lives, or possibilities of

4. The assumption which lies at the root
nearly all erroneous reasoning on political e
nomy,—namely, that its object is to accumul
money or exchangeable property,—may be sho
in a few words to be without foundation.
no economist would admit national economy
be legitimate which proposed to itself only
building of a pyramid of gold. He would
clare the gold to be wasted, were it to remain
the monumental form, and would say it ought
be employed. But to what end? Either it m
be used only to gain more gold, and build a lar

yramid, or for some purpose other than the ining of gold. And this other purpose, how- er at first apprehended, will be found to re- lve itself finally into the service of man;—that to say, the extension, defence, or comfort of s life. The golden pyramid may perhaps be ovidentially built, perhaps improvidently; but e wisdom or folly of the accumulation can only e determined by our having first clearly stated e aim of all economy, namely, the extension life.

If the accumulation of money, or of exchange- ble property, were a certain means of extending istence, it would be useless, in discussing eco- omical questions, to fix our attention upon the ore distant object—life—instead of the imme- ate one—money. But it is not so. Money may metimes be accumulated at the cost of life, or y limitations of it; that is to say, either by astening the deaths of men, or preventing their rths. It is therefore necessary to keep clearly view the ultimate object of economy; and o determine the expediency of minor operations ith reference to that ulterior end.

5. It has been just stated that the object of olitical economy is the continuance not only of fe, but of healthy and happy life. But all true appiness is both a consequence and cause of fe: it is a sign of its vigour, and source of its ntinuance. All true suffering is in like manner consequence and cause of death. I shall there- re, in future, use the word "Life" singly: but t it be understood to include in its signification e happiness and power of the entire human ature, body and soul.

6. That human nature, as its Creator made i and maintains it wherever His laws are observe is entirely harmonious. No physical error can b more profound, no moral error more dangerou than that involved in the monkish doctrine the opposition of body to soul. No soul can b perfect in an imperfect body: no body perfe without perfect soul. Every right action ar true thought sets the seal of its beauty on perso and face; every wrong action and foul thoug its seal of distortion; and the various aspects humanity might be read as plainly as a printe history, were it not that the impressions are complex that it must always in some cas (and, in the present state of our knowledge, in a cases) be impossible to decipher them completel Nevertheless, the face of a consistently just, ar of a consistently unjust person, may always b rightly distinguished at a glance; and if th qualities are continued by descent through generation or two, there arises a complete di tinction of race. Both moral and physic qualities are communicated by descent, far mo than they can be developed by education, (thoug both may be destroyed by want of education) and there is as yet no ascertained limit to th nobleness of person and mind which the huma creature may attain, by persevering observanc of the laws of God respecting its birth an training.

7. We must therefore yet farther define the ai of political economy to be "The multiplicatio of human life at the highest standard." It migh at first seem questionable whether we should en deavour to maintain a small number of perso

the highest type of beauty and intelligence, or arger number of an inferior class. But I shall able to show in the sequel, that the way to intain the largest number is first to aim at e highest standard. Determine the noblest pe of man, and aim simply at maintaining the gest possible number of persons of that class, d it will be found that the largest possible mber of every healthy subordinate class must cessarily be produced also.

8. The perfect type of manhood, as just stated, volves the perfections (whatever we may here-ter determine these to be) of his body, affec-ons, and intelligence. The material things, erefore, which it is the object of political onomy to produce and use, (or accumulate for e,) are things which serve either to sustain and mfort the body, or exercise rightly the affec-ons and form the intelligence.[1] Whatever truly rves either of these purposes is "useful" to an, wholesome, healthful, helpful, or holy. By eking such things, man prolongs and increases s life upon the earth.

On the other hand, whatever does not serve ther of these purposes,—much more whatever unteracts them,—is in like manner useless to an, unwholesome, unhelpful, or unholy; and by eeking such things man shortens and diminishes is life upon the earth.

9. And neither with respect to things useful or seless can man's estimate of them alter their ature. Certain substances being good for his od, and others noxious to him, what he thinks r wishes respecting them can neither change, nor

[1] See Appendix I.

prevent, their power. If he eats corn, he
live; if nightshade, he will die. If he produce
make good and beautiful things, they will
Create him; (note the solemnity and weight
the word); if bad and ugly things, they
"corrupt" or "break in pieces"—that is, in
exact degree of their power, Kill him. For ev
hour of labour, however enthusiastic or well
tended, which he spends for that which is
bread, so much possibility of life is lost to hi
His fancies, likings, beliefs, however brillia
eager, or obstinate, are of no avail if they
set on a false object. Of all that he has labou
for, the eternal law of heaven and earth measu
out to him for reward, to the utmost atom, th
part which he ought to have laboured for, a
withdraws from him (or enforces on him, it m
be) inexorably, that part which he ought not
have laboured for until, on his summer threshi
floor, stands his heap of corn; little or mu
not according to his labour, but to his disc
tion. No "commercial arrangements," no pai
ing of surfaces, nor alloying of substances, w
avail him a pennyweight. Nature asks of h
calmly and inevitably, What have you fou
or formed—the right thing or the wrong?
the right thing you shall live; by the wrong y
shall die.

10. To thoughtless persons it seems otherwi
The world looks to them as if they could cozen
out of some ways and means of life. But th
cannot cozen IT: they can only cozen their neig
bours. The world is not to be cheated of
grain; not so much as a breath of its air can
drawn surreptitiously. For every piece of w

ork done, so much life is granted; for every ece of foolish work, nothing; for every piece wicked work, so much death is allotted. This as sure as the courses of day and night. But hen the means of life are once produced, men, their various struggles and industries of acmulation or exchange, may variously gather, aste, restrain, or distribute them; necessitating, proportion to the waste or restraint, accurately, much more death. The rate and range of ldditional death are measured by the rate and nge of waste; and are inevitable;—the only uestion (determined mostly by fraud in peace, nd force in war) is, Who is to die, and how?

11. Such being the everlasting law of human ristence, the essential work of the political ecoomist is to determine what are in reality useful life-giving things, and by what degrees and nds of labour they are attainable and distriutable. This investigation divides itself under ree great heads;—the studies, namely, of the henomena, first, of WEALTH; secondly, of ONEY; and thirdly, of RICHES.

These terms are often used as synonymous, but ey signify entirely different things. "Wealth" onsists of things in themselves valuable; "Money," documentary claims to the possession of such ings; and "Riches" is a relative term, exressing the magnitude of the possessions of one erson or society as compared with those of other ersons or societies.

The study of Wealth is a province of natural ience:—it deals with the essential properties things.

The study of Money is a province of commercial

science :—it deals with conditions of engagemen and exchange.

The study of Riches is a province of mora science :—it deals with the due relations of me to each other in regard of material possessions and with the just laws of their association fo purposes of labour.

I shall in this first chapter shortly sketch ou the range of subjects which will come before u as we follow these three branches of inquiry.

12. And first of WEALTH, which, it has bee said, consists of things essentially valuable. W now, therefore, need a definition of "value."

"Value" signifies the strength, or "availing of anything towards the sustaining of life, an is always twofold; that is to say, primarily INTRINSIC, and secondarily, EFFECTUAL.

The reader must, by anticipation, be warne against confusing value with cost, or with price *Value is the life-giving power of anything; cos the quantity of labour required to produce it; price the quantity of labour which its possessor will tak in exchange for it.*[1] Cost and price are commercia conditions, to be studied under the head of money

13. Intrinsic value is the absolute power o anything to support life. A sheaf of wheat o given quality and weight has in it a measurabl power of sustaining the substance of the body a cubic foot of pure air, a fixed power of sustain ing its warmth; and a cluster of flowers of give beauty a fixed power of enlivening or animatin the senses and heart.

It does not in the least affect the intrinsic valu

[1] [Observe these definitions,—they are of much importance,- and connect with them the sentences in italics on next page.]

f the wheat, the air, or the flowers, that men efuse or despise them. Used or not, their own ower is in them, and that particular power is n nothing else.

14. But in order that this value of theirs may ecome effectual, a certain state is necessary in he recipient of it. The digesting, breathing, and erceiving functions must be perfect in the human reature before the food, air, or flowers can be- ome of their full value to it. *The production of ffectual value, therefore, always involves two needs : irst, the production of a thing essentially useful ; hen the production of the capacity to use it.* Where he intrinsic value and acceptant capacity come ogether there is Effectual value, or wealth ; vhere there is either no intrinsic value, or no cceptant capacity, there is no effectual value ; hat is to say, no wealth. A horse is no wealth o us if we cannot ride, nor a picture if we can- ot see, *nor can any noble thing be wealth, except o a noble person.* As the aptness of the user ncreases, the effectual value of the thing used ncreases ; and in its entirety can co-exist only vith perfect skill of use, and fitness of nature.

15. Valuable material things may be con- veniently referred to five heads :

(i.) Land, with its associated air, water, and organisms.

(ii.) Houses, furniture, and instruments.

(iii.) Stored or prepared food, medicine, and articles of bodily luxury, including clothing.

(iv.) Books.

(v.) Works of art.

The conditions of value in these things are briefly as follows :—

16. (i.) Land. Its value is twofold; first, a producing food and mechanical power; secondly as an object of sight and thought, producing intellectual power.

Its value, as a means of producing food and mechanical power, varies with its form (a mountain or plain), with its substance (in soil o mineral contents), and with its climate. All thes conditions of intrinsic value must be known and complied with by the men who have to dea with it, in order to give effectual value; but a any given time and place, the intrinsic value i fixed: such and such a piece of land, with it associated lakes and seas, rightly treated in sur face and substance, can produce precisely so much food and power, and no more.

The second element of value in land being it beauty, united with such conditions of space and form as are necessary for exercise, and for fulnes of animal life, land of the highest value in thes respects will be that lying in temperate climates and boldly varied in form; removed from un healthy or dangerous influences (as of miasm o volcano); and capable of sustaining a rich faun and flora. Such land, carefully tended by th hand of man, so far as to remove from it un sightlinesses and evidences of decay, guarded fron violence, and inhabited, under man's affectionat protection, by every kind of living creature tha can occupy it in peace, is the most preciou "property" that human beings can possess.

17. (ii.) Buildings, furniture, and instruments.

The value of buildings consists, first, in per manent strength, with convenience of form, c size, and of position; so as to render employmen

eaceful, social intercourse easy. temperature and r healthy. The advisable or possible magni- ıde of cities, and mode of their distribution in ıuares, streets, courts, etc.; the relative value sites of land, and the modes of structure which re healthiest and most permanent, have to be udied under this head.

The value of buildings consists secondly in istorical association, and architectural beauty, f which we have to examine the influence on ıanners and life.

The value of instruments consists, first, in ıeir power of shortening labour, or otherwise ccomplishing what human strength unaided could ot. The kinds of work which are severally best ccomplished by hand or by machine;—the effect f machinery in gathering and multiplying popu- ıtion, and its influence on the minds and bodies f such population; together with the conceiv- ble uses of machinery on a colossal scale in ccomplishing mighty and useful works, hitherto nthought of, such as the deepening of large river hannels;—changing the surface of mountainous istricts;—irrigating tracts of desert in the torrid one;—breaking up, and thus rendering capable f quicker fusion, edges of ice in the northern and outhern Arctic seas, etc., so rendering parts of he earth habitable which hitherto have been life- ess, are to be studied under this head.

The value of instruments is, secondarily, in heir aid to abstract sciences. The degree in vhich the multiplication of such instruments hould be encouraged, so as to make them, if arge, easy of access to numbers (as costly tele- copes), or so cheap as that they might, in a

serviceable form, become a common part of th furniture of households, is to be considered und this head.[1]

18. (iii.) Food, medicine, and articles of luxur Under this head we shall have to examine th possible methods of obtaining pure food in suc security and equality of supply as to avoid bot waste and famine: then the economy of med cine and just range of sanitary law: finally th economy of luxury, partly an æsthetic and part an ethical question.

19. (iv.) Books. The value of these consists,

First, in their power of preserving and con municating the knowledge of facts.

Secondly, in their power of exciting vital noble emotion and intellectual action. They ha also their corresponding negative powers of di guising and effacing the memory of facts, an killing the noble emotions, or exciting base one Under these two heads we have to consider th economical and educational value, positive an negative, of literature;—the means of producin and educating good authors, and the means an advisability of rendering good books general accessible, and directing the reader's choice them.

20. (v.) Works of art. The value of these of the same nature as that of books; but th laws of their production and possible modes

[1] [I cannot now recast these sentences, pedantic in the generalisation, and intended more for index than statemen but I must guard the reader from thinking that I ever wish f cheapness by bad quality, A poor boy need not always lea mathematics; but, if you set him to do so, have the farth kindness to give him good compasses, not cheap ones, who points bend like lead.]

stribution are very different, and require sepa-
te examination.

21. II.—Money. Under this head, we shall ave to examine the laws of currency and ex-hange; of which I will note here the first separate rinciples.

Money has been inaccurately spoken of as erely a means of exchange. But it is far more han this. It is a documentary expression of gal claim. It is not wealth, but a documentary laim to wealth, being the sign of the relative uantities of it, or of the labour producing it, to hich, at a given time, persons, or societies, are ntitled.

If all the money in the world, notes and gold, ere destroyed in an instant, it would leave the orld neither richer nor poorer than it was. But t would leave the individual inhabitants of it n different relations.

Money is, therefore, correspondent in its nature o the title-deed of an estate. Though the deed e burned, the estate still exists, but the right o it has become disputable.

22. The real worth of money remains un-hanged, as long as the proportion of the quan-ity of existing money to the quantity of existing wealth or available labour remains unchanged.

If the wealth increases, but not the money, he worth of the money increases; if the money ncreases, but not the wealth, the worth of the money diminishes.

23. Money, therefore, cannot be arbitrarily multiplied, any more than title-deeds can. So long as the existing wealth or available labour is not fully represented by the currency, the

currency may be increased without diminution o the assigned worth of its pieces. But when th existing wealth, or available labour, is once full represented, every piece of money thrown int circulation diminishes the worth of every othe existing piece, in the proportion it bears to th number of them, provided the new piece be re ceived with equal credit; if not, the depreciatio of worth takes place, according to the degree o its credit.

24. When, however, new money, composed o some substance of supposed intrinsic value (as o gold), is brought into the market, or when nev notes are issued which are supposed to be de serving of credit, the desire to obtain the mone will, under certain circumstances, stimulate in dustry: an additional quantity of wealth i immediately produced, and if this be in propor tion to the new claims advanced, the value o the existing currency is undepreciated. If th stimulus given be so great as to produce mor goods than are proportioned to the additiona coinage, the worth of the existing currency wil be raised.

Arbitrary control and issues of currency affect the production of wealth, by acting on the hope and fears of men, and are, under certain cir cumstances, wise. But the issue of additiona currency to meet the exigencies of immediate expense, is merely one of the disguised forms of borrowing or taxing. It is, however, in the pre sent low state of economical knowledge, often possible for governments to venture on an issue of currency, when they could not venture on an additional loan or tax, because the real operation

such issue is not understood by the people, d the pressure of it is irregularly distributed, d with an unperceived gradation.

25. The use of substances of intrinsic value as e materials of a currency, is a barbarism;—a mnant of the conditions of barter, which alone nder commerce possible among savage nations. is, however, still necessary, partly as a mechani- l check on arbitrary issues; partly as a means exchanges with foreign nations. In proportion the extension of civilisation, and increase of stworthiness in governments, it will cease. So ng as it exists, the phenomena of the cost and ice of the articles used for currency are mingled th those proper to currency itself, in an almost extricable manner: and the market worth of llion is affected by multitudinous accidental cumstances, which have been traced, with ore or less success, by writers on commerical erations: but with these variations the true litical economist has no more to do than an gineer, fortifying a harbour of refuge against lantic tide, has to concern himself with the ies or quarrels of children who dig pools with eir fingers for its streams among the sand.

26. III.—Riches. According to the various dustry, capacity, good fortune, and desires of en, they obtain greater or smaller share of, and aim upon, the wealth of the world.

The inequalities between these shares, always some degree just and necessary, may be either strained by law or circumstance within certain nits; or may increase indefinitely.

Where no moral or legal restraint is put upon e exercise of the will and intellect of the stronger,

shrewder, or more covetous men, these differer become ultimately enormous. But as soon they become so distinct in their extremes as t on one side, there shall be manifest redunda of possession, and on the other manifest press of need,—the terms "riches" and "poverty" used to express the opposite states; being c trary only as the terms "warmth" and "co are contraries, of which neither implies an act degree, but only a relation to other degrees temperature.

27. Respecting riches, the economist has inquire, first, into the advisable modes of t collection; secondly, into the advisable mode their administration.

Respecting the collection of national riches, has to inquire, first, whether he is justified calling the nation rich, if the quantity of wea it possesses relatively to the wealth of ot nations, be large; irrespectively of the man of its distribution. Or does the mode of dis bution in any wise affect the nature of the rich Thus, if the king alone be rich—suppose Cro or Mausolus—are the Lydians or Carians th fore a rich nation? Or if a few slave-mas are rich, and the nation is otherwise composed slaves, is it to be called a rich nation? Fo not, and the ideas of a certain mode of distri tion or operation in the riches, and of a cert degree of freedom in the people, enter into idea of riches as attributed to a people, we s have to define the degree of fluency, or ci lative character which is essential to the nat of common wealth; and the degree of in pendence of action required in its possess

uestions which look as if they would take me in answering.[1]

28. And farther. Since the inequality, which the condition of riches, may be established in wo opposite modes—namely, by increase of pos-ession on the one side, and by decrease of it on ne other—we have to inquire, with respect to ny given state of riches, precisely in what manner ne correlative poverty was produced: that is to ay, whether by being surpassed only, or being epressed also; and if by being depressed, what re the advantages, or the contrary, conceivable n the depression. For instance, it being one of he commonest advantages of being rich to enter-ain a number of servants, we have to inquire, n the one side, what economical process produced he riches of the master; and on the other, what conomical process produced the poverty of the ersons who serve him; and what advantages ach, on his own side, derives from the result.

29. These being the main questions touching he collection of riches, the next, or last, part of he inquiry is into their administration.

Their possession involves three great economi-al powers which require separate examination: namely, the powers of selection, direction, and provision.

The power of SELECTION relates to things of which the supply is limited (as the supply of best things is always). When it becomes matter of

[1] [I regret the ironical manner in which this passage, one of great importance in the matter of it, was written. The gist of it is, that the first of all inquiries respecting the wealth of any nation is not, how much it has; but whether it is in a form that can be used, and in the possession of persons who can use it.]

question to whom such things are to belong, th richest person has necessarily the first choic unless some arbitrary mode of distribution b otherwise determined upon. The business of th economist is to show how this choice may be Wise one.

The power of DIRECTION arises out of th necessary relation of rich men to poor, whic ultimately, in one way or another, involves th direction of, or authority over, the labour o the poor; and this nearly as much over the mental as their bodily labour. The business o the economist is to show how this direction ma be a Just one.

The power of PROVISION is dependent upon th redundance of wealth, which may of course b active persons be made available in preparatio for future work or future profit; in which functio riches have generally received the name of capital that is to say, of head-, or source-material. Th business of the economist is to show how th provision may be a Distant one.

30. The examination of these three function of riches will embrace every final problem o political economy;—and, above, or before all, thi curious and vital problem,—whether, since th wholesome action of riches in these three function will depend (it appears) on the Wisdom, Justice and Farsightedness of the holders; and it is b no means to be assumed that persons primaril rich, must therefore be just and wise,—it ma not be ultimately possible so, or somewhat so, t arrange matters, as that persons primarily jus and wise, should therefore be rich?

Such being the general plan of the inquir

fore us, I shall not limit myself to any con-
cutive following of it, having hardly any good
pe of being able to complete so laborious a
ork as it must prove to me; but from time to
ne, as I have leisure, shall endeavour to carry
rward this part or that, as may be immediately
ssible; indicating always with accuracy the
ace which the particular essay will or should
ke in the completed system.

CHAPTER II

STORE-KEEPING

31. The first chapter having consisted of litt more than definition of terms, I purpose, in th to expand and illustrate the given definitions.

The view which has here been taken of t nature of wealth, namely, that it consists in a intrinsic value developed by a vital power, directly opposed to two nearly universal conce tions of wealth. In the assertion that value primarily intrinsic, it opposes the idea that an thing which is an object of desire to number and is limited in quantity, so as to have rate worth in exchange, may be called, or virtuall become, wealth. And in the assertion that valu is, secondarily, dependent upon power in th possessor, it opposes the idea that the worth thing depends on the demand for them, instea of on the use of them. Before going farther, w will make these two positions clearer.

32. I. First. All wealth is intrinsic, and is no constituted by the judgment of men. This i easily seen in the case of things affecting th body; we know, that no force of fantasy wi make stones nourishing, or poison innocent; bu it is less apparent in things affecting the mind We are easily—perhaps willingly—misled by th

pearance of beneficial results obtained by in-
stries addressed wholly to the gratification of
ciful desire; and apt to suppose that whatever
widely coveted, dearly bought, and pleasurable
possession, must be included in our definition
wealth. It is the more difficult to quit our-
ves of this error because many things which
true wealth in moderate use, become false
alth in immoderate; and many things are
xed of good and evil,—as mostly, books, and
rks of art,—out of which one person will get
good, and another the evil; so that it seems
if there were no fixed good or evil in the things
emselves, but only in the view taken, and use
ade of them.

But that is not so. The evil and good are
ed; in essence, and in proportion. And in
ings in which evil depends upon excess, the
int of excess, though indefinable, is fixed; and
e power of the thing is on the hither side for
od, and on the farther side for evil. And in
cases this power is inherent, not dependent
opinion or choice. Our thoughts of things
ither make, nor mar their eternal force; nor—
nich is the most serious point for future con-
leration—can they prevent the effect of it
ithin certain limits) upon ourselves.

33. Therefore, the object of any special analysis
wealth will be not so much to enumerate what
serviceable, as to distinguish what is destruc-
ve; and to show that it is inevitably destructive;
at to receive pleasure from an evil thing is not
escape from, or alter the evil of it, but to be
tered by it; that is, to suffer from it to the
most, having our own nature, in that degree,

made evil also. And it may be shown farthe that, through whatever length of time or subtletie of connexion the harm is accomplished, (bein also less or more according to the fineness an worth of the humanity on which it is wrought still, nothing *but* harm ever comes of a bad thing

34. So that, in sum, the term wealth is neve to be attached to the *accidental object of a morbi* desire, but only to the *constant object of a legiti mate one.*[1] By the fury of ignorance, and fitfu ness of caprice, large interests may be continuall attached to things unserviceable or hurtful; i their nature could be altered by our passions, th science of political Economy would remain, wha it has been hitherto among us, the weighing c clouds, and the portioning out of shadows. Bu of ignorance there is no science; and of capric no law. Their disturbing forces interfere wit the operations of faithful Economy, but hav nothing in common with them: she, the calr arbiter of national destiny, regards only essentia power for good in all that she accumulates, an alike disdains the wanderings[2] of imaginatior and the thirsts of disease.

35. II. Secondly. The assertion that wealth i not *only* intrinsic, but dependent, in order to be come effectual, on a given degree of vital powe in its possessor, is opposed to another popula view of wealth;—namely, that though it ma

[1] [Remember carefully this statement, that Wealth consist only in the things which the nature of humanity has rendered i all ages, and must render in all ages to come, (that is what meant by "constant,") the objects of legitimate desire. An see Appendix II.]

[2] [The *Wanderings*, observe, not the Right goings, c Imagination. She is very far from despising these.]

ways be constituted by caprice, it is, when so
nstituted, a substantial thing, of which given
antities may be counted as existing here, or
re, and exchangeable at rated prices.

In this view there are three errors. The first
l chief is the overlooking the fact that all
changeableness of commodity, or effective de-
nd for it, depends on the sum of capacity for
use existing, here or elsewhere. The book
cannot read, or picture we take no delight in,
y indeed be called part of our wealth, in so
as we have power of exchanging either for
nething we like better. But our power of
ecting such exchange, and yet more, of effect-
it to advantage, depends absolutely on the
mber of accessible persons who can understand
book, or enjoy the painting, and who will
pute the possession of them. Thus the actual
rth of either, even to us, depends no more on
ir essential goodness than on the capacity
sting somewhere for the perception of it; and
is vain in any completed system of production
think of obtaining one without the other. So
t, though the true political economist knows
t co-existence of capacity for use with tem-
rary possession cannot be always secured, the
al fact, on which he bases all action and ad-
nistration, is that, in the whole nation, or group
nations, he has to deal with, for every atom
intrinsic value produced he must with exactest
emistry produce its twin atom of acceptant
estion, or understanding capacity; or, in the
gree of his failure, he has no wealth. Nature's
llenge to us is, in earnest, as the Assyrian's
ck: "I will give thee two thousand horses,

if thou be able on thy part to set riders upo them." Bavieca's paces are brave, if the Ci backs him; but woe to us, if we take the dus of capacity, wearing the armour of it, for capa city itself, for so all procession, however goodl in the show of it, is to the tomb.

36. The second error in this popular view c wealth is, that in giving the name of wealth t things which we cannot use, we in reality confus wealth with money. The land we have no ski to cultivate, the book which is sealed to us, c dress which is superfluous, may indeed be ex changeable, but as such are nothing more than cumbrous form of bank-note, of doubtful or slo convertibility. As long as we retain possessio of them, we merely keep our bank-notes in th shape of gravel or clay, or book-leaves, or c embroidered tissue. Circumstances may, perhaps render such forms the safest, or a certain com placency may attach to the exhibition of them into both these advantages we shall inquire after wards; I wish the reader only to observe here that exchangeable property which we cannot us is, to us personally, merely one of the forms c money, not of wealth.

37. The third error in the popular view is th confusion of Guardianship with Possession; th real state of men of property being, too commonly that of curators, not possessors, of wealth.

A man's power over his property is, at th widest range of it, fivefold; it is power of Use for himself, Administration, to others, Ostentation Destruction, or Bequest; and possession is in us only, which for each man is sternly limited; s that such things, and so much of them as h

n use, are, indeed, well for him, or Wealth; d more of them, or any other things, are ill for n, or Illth.[1] Plunged to the lips in Orinoco, shall drink to his thirst measure; more, at s peril: with a thousand oxen on his lands, he all eat to his hunger measure; more, at his ril. He cannot live in two houses at once; a w bales of silk or wool will suffice for the fabric all the clothes he can ever wear, and a few oks will probably hold all the furniture good r his brain. Beyond these, in the best of us t narrow, capacities, we have but the power administering, or *mal*-administering, wealth: nat is to say, distributing, lending, or increasing ;—of exhibiting it (as in magnificence of retinue furniture),—of destroying, or, finally, of beueathing it. And with multitudes of rich men, lministration degenerates into curatorship; they erely hold their property in charge, as Trustees, r the benefit of some person or persons to hom it is to be delivered upon their death; nd the position, explained in clear terms, would ardly seem a covetable one. What would be ie probable feelings of a youth, on his entrance to life, to whom the career hoped for him was roposed in terms such as these: "You must ork unremittingly, and with your utmost inelligence, during all your available years, you ill thus accumulate wealth to a large amount; ut you must touch none of it, beyond what is eedful for your support. Whatever sums you ain, beyond those required for your decent and noderate maintenance, and whatever beautiful hings you may obtain possession of, shall be

[1] See Appendix III.

properly taken care of by servants, for whos maintenance you will be charged, and whom yo will have the trouble of superintending, and o your death-bed you shall have the power of d termining to whom the accumulated property sha belong, or to what purposes be applied" ?

38. The labour of life, under such condition would probably be neither zealous nor cheerful yet the only difference between this position an that of the ordinary capitalist is the power whic the latter supposes himself to possess, and whic is attributed to him by others, of spending h money at any moment. This pleasure, taken *i the imagination of power to part with that with whic we have no intention of parting*, is one of the mos curious, though commonest forms of the Eidolo or Phantasm of Wealth. But the political econo mist has nothing to do with this idealism, an looks only to the practical issue of it—namely that the holder of wealth, in such temper, may b regarded simply as a mechanical means of collec tion; or as a money-chest with a slit in it, no only receptant but suctional, set in the publi thoroughfare;—chest of which only Death ha the key, and evil Chance the distribution of th contents. In his function of Lender (which, how ever, is one of administration, not use, as fa as he is himself concerned), the capitalist takes indeed, a more interesting aspect; but even i that function, his relations with the State ar apt to degenerate into a mechanism for th convenient contraction of debt;—a function th more mischievous, because a nation invariabl appeases its conscience with respect to an un justifiable expense, by meeting it with borrowe

nds, expresses its repentance of a foolish piece business, by letting its tradesmen wait for their oney, and always leaves its descendants to pay r the work which will be of the least advantage them.[1]

39. Quit of these three sources of misconcep-on, the reader will have little farther difficulty apprehending the real nature of Effectual value. e may, however, at first not without surprise, rceive the consequences involved in his accept-ce of the definition. For if the actual existence wealth be dependent on the power of its pos-ssor, it follows that the sum of wealth held the nation, instead of being constant or cal-lable, varies hourly, nay, momentarily, with e number and character of its holders! and at in changing hands, it changes in quantity. nd farther, since the worth of the currency is oportioned to the sum of material wealth which represents, if the sum of the wealth changes, e worth of the currency changes. And thus th the sum of the property, and power of the rrency, of the State, vary momentarily as the aracter and number of the holders. And not ly so, but different rates and kinds of varia-on are caused by the character of the holders different kinds of wealth. The transitions of alue caused by the character of the holders of nd differ in mode from those caused by char-cter in holders of works of art; and these again om those caused by character in holders of

[1] [I would beg the reader's very close attention to these 37th nd 38th paragraphs. It would be well if a dogged conviction ould be enforced on nations, as on individuals, that, with few xceptions, what they cannot at present pay for, they should ot at present have.]

machinery or other working capital. But w
cannot examine these special phenomena of a
kind of wealth until we have a clear idea of t
way in which true currency expresses them; a
of the resulting modes in which the cost a
price of any article are related to its value.
obtain this we must approach the subject in i
first elements.

40. Let us suppose a national store of wealt
composed of material things either useful, or b
lieved to be so, taken charge of by the Gover
ment,[1] and that every workman, having produc
any article involving labour in its production, a
for which he has no immediate use, brings it
add to this store, receiving from the Governmen
in exchange, an order either for the return of t
thing itself, or of its equivalent in other thing
such as he may choose out of the store, at a
time when he needs them. The question
equivalence itself (how much wine a man is
receive in return for so much corn, or how muc
coal in return for so much iron) is a quite separa
one, which we will examine presently. For t
time, let it be assumed that this equivalen
has been determined, and that the Governme
order, in exchange for a fixed weight of any artic
(called, suppose, *a*), is either for the return of th
weight of the article itself, or of another fixe
weight of the article *b*, or another of the article
and so on.

Now, supposing that the labourer speedily a
continually presents these general orders, or, i
common language, "spends the money," he ha
neither changed the circumstances of the natio

[1] See Appendix IV.

his own, except in so far as he may have duced useful and consumed useless articles, *vice versâ*. But if he does not use, or uses part only, the orders he receives, and lays de some portion of them; and thus every day nging his contribution to the national store, s by some percentage of the orders received exchange for it, he increases the national wealth ly by as much as he does not use of the re- ved order, and to the same amount accumu- es a monetary claim on the Government. It of course, always in his power, as it is his legal ht, to bring forward this accumulation of claim, d at once to consume, destroy, or distribute, e sum of his wealth. Supposing he never does but dies, leaving his claim to others, he has riched the State during his life by the quantity wealth over which that claim extends, or has, other words, rendered so much additional life ssible in the State, of which additional life bequeaths the immediate possibility to those om he invests with his claim. Supposing him cancel the claim, he would distribute this pos- ility of life among the nation at large.

41. We hitherto consider the Government itself simply a conservative power, taking charge of e wealth entrusted to it.

But a Government may be more or less than conservative power. It may be either an im- oving, or destructive one.

If it be an improving power, using all the ealth entrusted to it to the best advantage, the ation is enriched in root and branch at once, nd the Government is enabled, for every order esented, to return a quantity of wealth greater

than the order was written for, according
the fructification obtained in the interim. T
ability may be either concealed, in which c
the currency does not completely represent
wealth of the country, or it may be manifes
by the continual payment of the excess of va
on each order, in which case there is (irresp
tively, observe, of collateral results afterwards
be examined) a perpetual rise in the worth of
currency, that is to say, a fall in the price of
articles represented by it.

42. But if the Government be destructive, o
consuming power, it becomes unable to return
value received on the presentation of the order.

This inability may either be concealed
meeting demands to the full, until it issue
bankruptcy, or in some form of national debt;
or it may be concealed during oscillatory mo
ments between destructiveness and productiv
ness, which result on the whole in stability;—
it may be manifested by the consistent return
less than value received on each presented ord
in which case there is a consistent fall in t
worth of the currency, or rise in the price of t
things represented by it.

43. Now, if for this conception of a centr
Government, we substitute that of a body
persons occupied in industrial pursuits, of who
each adds in his private capacity to the comm
store, we at once obtain an approximation to th
actual condition of a civilised mercantile co
munity, from which approximation we migh
easily proceed into still completer analysis.
purpose, however, to arrive at every result b
the gradual expansion of the simpler conception

I wish the reader to observe, in the mean-
, that both the social conditions thus sup-
d (and I will by anticipation say also, all
ible social conditions), agree in two great
ts; namely, in the primal importance of
supposed national store or stock, and in its
ructibility or improveability by the holders

4. I. Observe that in both conditions, that of
ral Government-holding, and diffused private-
ing, the quantity of stock is of the same
onal moment. In the one case, indeed, its
unt may be known by examination of the
ons to whom it is confided; in the other it
not be known but by exposing the private
irs of every individual. But, known or un-
wn, its significance is the same under each
lition. The riches of the nation consist in
abundance, and their wealth depends on the
ire, of this store.

5. II. In the second place, both conditions
l all other possible ones) agree in the de-
ctibility or improveability of the store by
nolders. Whether in private hands, or under
ernment charge, the national store may be
y consumed, or daily enlarged, by its pos-
ors; and while the currency remains appa-
ly unaltered, the property it represents may
inish or increase.

6. The first question, then, which we have to
under our simple conception of central Govern-
nt, namely, "What store has it?" is one of
al importance, whatever may be the constitu-
of the State; while the second question—
nely, "Who are the holders of the store?"

involves the discussion of the constitution of State itself.

The first inquiry resolves itself into three hea

1. What is the nature of the store ?

2. What is its quantity in relation to population ?

3. What is its quantity in relation to currency ?

The second inquiry into two :

1. Who are the Holders of the store, and what proportions ?

2. Who are the Claimants of the store (t is to say, the holders of the currency), and what proportions ?

We will examine the range of the first th questions in the present paper; of the following, in the sequel.

47. I. Question First. What is the nat of the store ? Has the nation hitherto wor for and gathered the right thing or the wro On that issue rest the possibilities of its life.

For example, let us imagine a society, of great extent, occupied in procuring and laying store of corn, wine, wool, silk, and other s preservable materials of food and clothing; that it has a currency representing them. Imag farther, that on days of festivity, the soci discovering itself to derive satisfaction from py technics, gradually turns its attention more more to the manufacture of gunpowder; so t an increasing number of labourers, giving w time they can spare to this branch of indus bring increasing quantities of combustibles i the store, and use the general orders received

change to obtain such wine, wool, or corn, as ey may have need of. The currency remains e same, and represents precisely the same ıount of material in the store, and of labour ent in producing it. But the corn and wine adually vanish, and in their place, as gradu- y, appear sulphur and saltpetre, till at last the ɔourers who have consumed corn and supplied ɜre, presenting on a festal morning some of their rrency to obtain materials for the feast, dis- ver that no amount of currency will command ything Festive, except Fire. The supply of ckets is unlimited, but that of food, limited, a quite final manner; and the whole currency the hands of the society represents an infinite wer of detonation, but none of existence.

48. This statement, caricatured as it may seem, only exaggerated in assuming the persistence the folly to extremity, unchecked, as in reality would be, by the gradual rise in price of food. ıt it falls short of the actual facts of human e in expression of the depth and intensity of e folly itself. For a great part (the reader ɔuld not believe how great until he saw the ıtistics in detail) of the most earnest and in- nious industry of the world is spent in pro- ıcing munitions of war; gathering, that is to y, the materials, not of festive, but of con- ming fire; filling its stores with all power of e instruments of pain, and all affluence of the inistries of death. It was no true *Trionfo lla Morte*[1] which men have seen and feared

[1] [I little thought, what *Trionfo della Morte* would be, for s very cause, and in literal fulfilment of the closing words of : 47th paragraph, over the fields and houses of Europe, and ɜr its fairest city—within seven years from the day I wrote it.]

(sometimes scarcely feared) so long; wherein h
brought them rest from their labours. We see
and share, another and higher form of his triumph
now. Taskmaster, instead of Releaser, he rule
the dust of the arena no less than of the tomb
and, content once in the grave whither man went
to make his works to cease and his devices t
vanish,—now, in the busy city and on the ser
viceable sea, makes his work to increase, an
his devices to multiply.

49. To this doubled loss, or negative power o
labour, spent in producing means of destructio
we have to add, in our estimate of the conse
quences of human folly, whatever more insidiou
waste of toil there is in production of unnecessar
luxury. Such and such an occupation (it is said
supports so many labourers, because so man
obtain wages in following it; but it is never con
sidered that unless there be a supporting powe
in the product of the occupation, the wages give
to one man are merely withdrawn from anothe
We cannot say of any trade that it maintain
such and such a number of persons, unless w
know how and where the money, now spent i
the purchase of its produce, would have bee
spent, if that produce had not been manufactured
The purchasing funds truly support a number
people in making This; but (probably) leave u
supported an equal number who are making,
could have made That. The manufacturers
small watches thrive at Geneva;—it is well;—b
where would the money spent on small watch
have gone, had there been no small watches to buy

50. If the so frequently uttered aphorism
mercantile economy—"Labour is limited

pital," were true, this question would be a de-
ite one. But it is untrue; and that widely.
it of a given quantity of funds for wages, more
less labour is to be had, according to the
antity of will with which we can inspire the
rkman; and the true limit of labour is only
the limit of this moral stimulus of the will,
d of the bodily power. In an ultimate, but
tirely unpractical sense, labour is limited by
pital, as it is by matter—that is to say, where
ere is no material, there can be no work,—but
the practical sense, labour is limited only by
e great original capital of head, heart, and hand.
ven in the most artificial relations of commerce,
bour is to capital as fire to fuel: out of so
uch fuel, you *can* have only so much fire; but
it of so much fuel you *shall* have so much fire,—
t in proportion to the mass of combustible, but
the force of wind that fans and water that
nenches; and the appliance of both. And labour
furthered, as conflagration is, not so much by
lded fuel, as by admitted air.[1]

51. For which reasons, I had to insert, in § 49,
ie qualifying "probably"; for it can never be
id positively that the purchase-money, or wages
nd, of any trade is withdrawn from some other
ade. The object itself may be the stimulus
the production of the money which buys it;
nat is to say, the work by which the purchaser
btained the means of buying it, would not have

[1] [The meaning of which is, that you may spend a great deal
money, and get very little work for it, and that little bad;
it having good "air," or "spirit," to put life into it, with
ry little money, you may get a great deal of work, and all
od; which, observe, is an arithmetical, not at all a poetical
visionary circumstance.]

been done by him, unless he had wanted tha particular thing. And the production of an article not intrinsically (nor in the process manufacture) injurious, is useful, if the desire it causes productive labour in other directions.

52. In the national store, therefore, the pre sence of things intrinsically valueless does no imply an entirely correlative absence of thing valuable. We cannot be certain that all th labour spent on vanity has been diverted fro reality, and that for every bad thing produced a precious thing has been lost. In great measur the vain things represent the results of rouse indolence; they have been carved, as toys, i extra time; and, if they had not been mad nothing else would have been made. Even t munitions of war this principle applies; the partly represent the work of men who, if the had not made spears, would never have mad pruning-hooks, and who are incapable of an activities but those of contest.

53. Thus then, finally, the nature of the stor has to be considered under two main lights; th one, that of its immediate and actual utility; th other, that of the past national character which i signifies by its production, and future characte which it must develop by its use. And the issu of this investigation will be to show us that

Economy does not depend merely on principle of "demand and supply," but primarily on wha is demanded, and what is supplied; which I wil beg of you to observe, and take to heart.

54. II. QUESTION SECOND. What is the quantity of the store in relation to the population?

It follows from what has been already stated at the accurate form in which this question has be put is—"What quantity of each article mposing the store exists in proportion to the al need for it by the population?" But we all for the time assume, in order to keep all r terms at the simplest, that the store is wholly mposed of useful articles, and accurately pro-rtioned to the several needs for them.

Now it cannot be assumed, because the store large in proportion to the number of the people, at the people must be in comfort; nor because is small, that they must be in distress. An tive and economical race always produces more an it requires, and lives (if it is permitted to o so) in competence on the produce of its daily bour. The quantity of its store, great or small, therefore in many respects indifferent to it, nd cannot be inferred from its aspect. Similarly n inactive and wasteful population, which cannot ve by its daily labour, but is dependent, partly r wholly, on consumption of its store, may be by various difficulties, hereafter to be examined, n realising or getting at such store) retained in state of abject distress, though its possessions nay be immense. But the results always in-olved in the magnitude of store are, the com-nercial power of the nation, its security, and its nental character. Its commercial power, in that ccording to the quantity of its store may be he extent of its dealings; its security, in that ccording to the quantity of its store are its neans of sudden exertion or sustained endurance; nd its character, in that certain conditions of ivilisation cannot be attained without permanent

and continually accumulating store, of great
trinsic value, and of peculiar nature.[1]

55. Now, seeing that these three advanta
arise from largeness of store in proportion to po
lation, the question arises immediately, "Giv
the store—is the nation enriched by diminuti
of its numbers? Are a successful national spe
lation, and a pestilence, economically the sa
thing?"

This is in part a sophistical question; such
it would be to ask whether a man was rich
when struck by disease which must limit his l
within a predicable period, than he was when
health. He is enabled to enlarge his current e
penses, and has for all purposes a larger sum
his immediate disposal (for, given the fortu
the shorter the life, the larger the annuity); y
no man considers himself richer because he
condemned by his physician.

56. The logical reply is that, since Wealth
by definition only the means of life, a nati
cannot be enriched by its own mortality. Or
shorter words, the life is more than the mea
and existence itself, more wealth than the mea
of existence. Whence, of two nations who ha
equal store, the more numerous is to be considere
the richer, provided the type of the inhabita
be as high (for, though the relative bulk of the
store be less, its relative efficiency, or the amou
of effectual wealth, must be greater). But if th
type of the population be deteriorated by increa
of its numbers, we have evidence of povert
in its worst influence; and then, to determi
whether the nation in its total may still b

[1] [More especially, works of great art.]

ustifiably esteemed rich, we must set or weigh, he number of the poor against that of the rich.

To effect which piece of scale-work, it is of ourse necessary to determine, first, who are poor nd who are rich; nor this only, but also how oor and how rich they are. Which will prove curious thermometrical investigation; for we hall have to do for gold and for silver, what we ave done for quicksilver;—determine, namely, heir freezing-point, their zero, their temperate nd fever-heat points; finally, their vaporescent oint, at which riches, sometimes explosively, as ately in America, "make to themselves wings": —and correspondently, the number of degrees *elow* zero at which poverty, ceasing to brace ith any wholesome cold, burns to the bone.[1]

57. For the performance of these operations, n the strictest sense scientific, we will first look o the existing so-called "science" of Political conomy; we will ask it to define for us the omparatively and superlatively rich, and the omparatively and superlatively poor; and on s own terms—if any terms it can pronounce—xamine, in our prosperous England, how many ich and how many poor people there are; and hether the quantity and intensity of the poverty s indeed so overbalanced by the quantity and

[1] [The meaning of that, in plain English, is, that we must nd out how far poverty and riches are good or bad for people, nd what is the difference between being miserably poor—so s, perhaps, to be driven to crime, or to pass life in suffering—nd being blessedly poor, in the sense meant in the Sermon on he Mount. For I suppose the people who believe that sermon, o not think (if they ever honestly ask themselves what they do ink), either that Luke vi. 24 is a merely poetical exclamation, r that the Beatitude of Poverty has yet been attained in St. Martin's Lane and other back streets of London.]

intensity of wealth, that we may permit ourselv
a luxurious blindness to it, and call ourselv
complacently, a rich country. And if we find
clear definition in the existing science, we w
endeavour for ourselves to fix the true degre
of the scale, and to apply them.[1]

58. III. Question Third. What is the quanti
of the store in relation to the Currency ?

We have seen that the real worth of t
currency, so far as dependent on its relation
the magnitude of the store, may vary, with
certain limits, without affecting its worth
exchange. The diminution or increase of t
represented wealth may be unperceived, and t
currency may be taken either for more or le
than it is truly worth. Usually it is taken f
much more ; and its power in exchange, or cred
power, is thus increased up to a given strain up
its relation to existing wealth. This credit-pow
is of chief importance in the thoughts, becau
most sharply present to the experience, of
mercantile community : but the conditions of i
stability[2] and all other relations of the curren

[1] [Large plans !—Eight years are gone, and nothing done y
But I keep my purpose of making one day this balance, or wa
of balance, visible, in those so seldom used scales of Justice.]

[2] These are nearly all briefly represented by the image us
for the force of money by Dante, of mast and sail :—

Quali dal vento le gonfiate vele
Caggiono avvolte, poi chè l'alber fiacca
Tal cadde a terra la fiera crudele.

The image may be followed out, like all of Dante's, into
close detail as the reader chooses. Thus the stress of the s
must be proportioned to the strength of the mast, and it is o
in unforeseen danger that a skilful seaman ever carries all t
canvas his spars will bear ; states of mercantile languor are li
the flap of the sail in a calm ; of mercantile precaution, li

) the material store are entirely simple in prin-
ple, if not in action. Far other than simple
:e the relations of the currency to the available
bour which it also represents. For this relation
involved not only with that of the magnitude
the store to the number, but with that of the
agnitude of the store to the mind, of the popu-
tion. Its proportion to their number, and the
sulting worth of currency, are calculable; but
s proportion to their will for labour is not.
he worth of the piece of money which claims a
ven quantity of the store is, in exchange, less or
eater according to the facility of obtaining the
me quantity of the same thing without having
course to the store. In other words, it depends
1 the immediate Cost and Price of the thing.
'e must now, therefore, complete the definition
these terms.

59. All cost and price are counted in Labour.
'e must know first, therefore, what is to be
unted *as* Labour.

I have already defined Labour to be the Contest
the life of man with an opposite. Literally,
is the quantity of "Lapse," loss, or failure of
man life, caused by any effort. It is usually
nfused with effort itself, or the application of
wer (opera); but there is much effort which is
erely a mode of recreation, or of pleasure. The
ost beautiful actions of the human body, and

ing in reefs; and mercantile ruin is instant on the breaking the mast.

I mean by credit-power, the general impression on the tional mind that a sovereign, or any other coin, is worth so uch bread and cheese—so much wine—so much horse and riage—or so much fine art: it may be really worth, when d, less or more than is thought: the thought of it is the dit-power.]

the highest results of the human intelligence, conditions, or achievements, of quite unlaboric —nay, of recreative,—effort. But labour is *suffering* in effort. It is the negative quanti or quantity of de-feat, which has to be coun against every Feat, and of de-fect, which has be counted against every Fact, or Deed of m In brief, it is "that quantity of our toil wh we die in."

We might, therefore, *à priori*, conjecture (as shall ultimately find), that it cannot be boug nor sold. Everything else is bought and sold Labour, but Labour itself cannot be bought r sold for anything, being priceless.[1] The idea th it is a commodity to be bought or sold, is t alpha and omega of Politico-Economic fallacy.

60. This being the nature of labour, the "Cos of anything is the quantity of labour necessa to obtain it;—the quantity for which, or which, it "stands" (constat). It is literally t "Constancy" of the thing;—you shall win it move it—come at it, for no less than this.

Cost is measured and measurable (using t accurate Latin terms) only in "labor," not "opera."[2] It does not matter how much *wo*

[1] The object of Political Economy is not to buy, nor to labour, but to spare it. Every attempt to buy or sell it in the outcome, ineffectual; so far as successful, it is sale, but Betrayal; and the purchase-money is a part of t thirty pieces which bought, first the greatest of labours, a afterwards the burial-field of the Stranger; for this purcha money, being in its very smallness or vileness the exac measured opposite of the "vilis annona amicorum," makes men strangers to each other.

[2] Cicero's distinction, "sordidi quæstus, quorum operæ, r quorum artes emuntur," admirable in principle, is inaccurate expression, because Cicero did not practically know how mu operative dexterity is necessary in all the higher arts; but

thing needs to produce it; it matters only w much *distress*. Generally the more the wer it requires, the less the distress; so that e noblest works of man cost less than the eanest.

True labour, or spending of life, is either of e body, in fatigue or pain; of the temper or art (as in perseverance of search for things,— tience in waiting for them,—fortitude or degradation in suffering for them, and the like), of the intellect. All these kinds of labour e supposed to be included in the general term, d the quantity of labour is then expressed by e time it lasts. So that a unit of labour is an hour's work" or a day's work, as we may termine.[1]

61. Cost, like value, is both intrinsic and ectual. Intrinsic cost is that of getting the ing in the right way; effectual cost is that of tting the thing in the way we set about it. it intrinsic cost cannot be made a subject of alytical investigation, being only partially disverable, and that by long experience. Effectual st is all that the political economist can deal th; that is to say, the cost of the thing under isting circumstances, and by known processes. Cost, being dependent much on application of

t of this dexterity is incalculable. Be it great or small, the ost" of the mere perfectness of touch in a hammer-stroke of natello's, or a pencil-touch of Correggio's, is inestimable by y ordinary arithmetic.

Old notes, these, more embarrassing, I now perceive, than cidatory; but right, and worth retaining.]

Only observe, as some labour is more destructive of life n other labour, the hour or day of the more destructive toil supposed to include proportionate rest. Though men do , or cannot, usually take such rest, except in death.

method, varies with the quantity of the thi wanted, and with the number of persons w work for it. It is easy to get a little of sor things, but difficult to get much; it is impossil to get some things with few hands, but easy get them with many.

62. The cost and value of things, howev difficult to determine accurately, are thus bo dependent on ascertainable physical circu stances.[1]

[1] There is, therefore, observe, no such thing as cheapness the common use of that term), without some error or injusti A thing is said to be cheap, not because it is common, b because it is supposed to be sold under its worth. Everythi has its proper and true worth at any given time, in relation everything else; and at that worth should be bought and so If sold under it, it is cheap to the buyer by exactly so much the seller loses, and no more. Putrid meat, at twopence pound, is not "cheaper" than wholesome meat at sevenpen a pound; it is probably much dearer; but if, by watching yo opportunity, you can get the wholesome meat for sixpence pound, it is cheaper to you by a penny, which you have gaine and the seller has lost. The present rage for cheapness either, therefore, simply and literally a rage for badness all commodities, or it is an attempt to find persons who necessities will force them to let you have more than you shou for your money. It is quite easy to produce such persons, a in large numbers; for the more distress there is in a natio the more cheapness of this sort you can obtain, and yo boasted cheapness is thus merely a measure of the extent your national distress.

There is, indeed, a condition of apparent cheapness, whi we have some right to be triumphant in; namely, the real r duction in cost of articles by right application of labour. B in this case the article is only cheap with reference to its *form* price; the so-called cheapness is only our expression for t sensation of contrast between its former and existing price So soon as the new methods of producing the article a established, it ceases to be esteemed either cheap or dear, the new price, as at the old one, and is felt to be cheap on when accident enables it to be purchased beneath this ne value. And it is no advantage to produce the article mo easily, except as it enables you to multiply your popuiatio

But their *price* is dependent on the human will. Such and such a thing is demonstrably good or so much. And it may demonstrably be had or so much.

But it remains questionable, and in all manner of ways questionable, whether I choose to give so much.[1]

This choice is always a relative one. It is a choice to give a price for this, rather than for that;—a resolution to have the thing, if getting

heapness of this kind is merely the discovery that more men an be maintained on the same ground; and the question how many you will maintain in proportion to your additional means, emains exactly in the same terms that it did before.

A form of immediate cheapness results, however, in many ases, without distress, from the labour of a population where ood is redundant, or where the labour by which the food is roduced leaves much idle time on their hands, which may e applied to the production of "cheap" articles.

All such phenomena indicate to the political economist laces where the labour is unbalanced. In the first case, the ist balance is to be effected by taking labourers from the spot here pressure exists, and sending them to that where food is edundant. In the second, the cheapness is a local accident, dvantageous to the local purchaser, disadvantageous to the ocal producer. It is one of the first duties of commerce to xtend the market, and thus give the local producer his full dvantage.

Cheapness caused by natural accidents of harvest, weather, tc., is always counterbalanced, in due time, by natural scar- ity similarly caused. It is the part of wise government, and ealthy commerce, so to provide in times and places of plenty or times and places of dearth, as that there shall never be vaste, nor famine.

Cheapness caused by gluts of the market is merely a disease f clumsy and wanton commerce.

1 Price has been already defined (p. 170) to be the quantity of abour which the possessor of a thing is willing to take for it. t is best to consider the price to be that fixed by the possessor, ecause the possessor has absolute power of refusing sale, while he purchaser has no absolute power of compelling it; but he effectual or market price is that at which their estimates oincide.

it does not involve the loss of a better thir
Price depends, therefore, not only on the cost
the commodity itself, but on its relation to t
cost of every other attainable thing.

Farther. The *power* of choice is also a relati
one. It depends not merely on our own estima
of the thing, but on everybody else's estimat
therefore on the number and force of the will
the concurrent buyers, and on the existing qua
tity of the thing in proportion to that numb
and force.

Hence the price of anything depends on fo
variables.

(1.) Its cost.

(2.) Its attainable quantity at that cost.

(3.) The number and power of the persons wh
want it.

(4.) The estimate they have formed of i
desirableness.

Its value only affects its price so far as it
contemplated in this estimate; perhaps, ther
fore, not at all.

63. Now, in order to show the manner in whic
price is expressed in terms of a currency, w
must assume these four quantities to be know
and "the estimate of desirableness," commonl
called the Demand, to be certain. We will tak
the number of persons at the lowest. Let
and B be two labourers who "demand," that i
to say, have resolved to labour for, two article
a and *b*. Their demand for these articles (if th
reader likes better, he may say their need) is t
be conceived as absolute, their existence depend
ing on the getting these two things. Suppose
for instance, that they are bread and fuel, in

d country, and let *a* represent the least quantity bread, and *b* the least quantity of fuel, which ll support a man's life for a day. Let *a* be oducible by an hour's labour, but *b* only by o hours' labour.

Then the *cost* of *a* is one hour, and of *b* two ost, by our definition, being expressible in terms time). If, therefore, each man worked both his corn and fuel, each would have to work ree hours a day. But they divide the labour r its greater ease.[1] Then if A works three urs, he produces 3 *a*, which is one *a* more than th the men want. And if B works three hours, produces only $1\frac{1}{2}$ *b*, or half of *b* less than both int. But if A work three hours and B six, has 3 *a*, and B has 3 *b*, a maintenance in the ght proportion for both for a day and a half; that each might take half a day's rest. But B has worked double time, the whole of this ay's rest belongs in equity to him. Therefore e just exchange should be, A giving two *a* for ne *b*, has one *a* and one *b*;—maintenance for a ay. B giving one *b* for two *a*, has two *a* and wo *b*;—maintenance for two days.

But B cannot rest on the second day, or A ould be left without the article which B pro- uces. Nor is there any means of making the xchange just, unless a third labourer is called . Then one workman, A, produces *a*, and two, and C, produces *b*:—A, working three hours, as three *a*;—B, three hours, $1\frac{1}{2}$ *b*;—C, three

[1] This "greater ease" ought to be allowed for by a diminu- on in the times of the divided work; but as the proportion times would remain the same, I do not introduce this un- cessary complexity into the calculation.

hours, $1\frac{1}{2}$ *b*. B and C each give half of *b* for and all have their equal daily maintenance equal daily work.

To carry the example a single step farther, three articles, *a*, *b*, and *c* be needed.

Let *a* need one hour's work, *b* two, and *c* fou then the day's work must be seven hours, and c man in a day's work can make 7 *a*, or $3\frac{1}{2}$ *b*, or $1\frac{1}{2}$

Therefore one A works for *a*, producing 7 two B's work for *b*, producing 7 *b*; four C's wo for *c*, producing 7 *c*.

A has six *a* to spare, and gives two *a* for one and four *a* for one *c*. Each B has $2\frac{1}{2}$ *b* to spa and gives $\frac{1}{2}$ *b* for one *a*, and two *b* for one *c*.

Each C has $\frac{3}{4}$ of *c* to spare, and gives $\frac{1}{2}$ *c* f one *b*, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of *c* for one *a*.

And all have their day's maintenance.

Generally, therefore, it follows that if the d mand is constant,[1] the relative prices of thin are as their costs, or as the quantities of labo involved in production.

64. Then, in order to express their prices terms of a currency, we have only to put t currency into the form of orders for a certa quantity of any given article (with us it is in t form of orders for gold), and all quantities other articles are priced by the relation they be to the article which the currency claims.

But the worth of the currency itself is not the slightest degree founded more on the wor of the article which it either claims or consis in (as gold) than on the worth of every oth article for which the gold is exchangeable. It just as accurate to say, "so many pounds a

[1] Compare *Unto this Last*, p. 85, *et seq.*

worth an acre of land," as "an acre of land is worth so many pounds." The worth of gold, of land, of houses, and of food, and of all other things, depends at any moment on the existing quantities and relative demands for all and each; and a change in the worth of, or demand for, any one, involves an instantaneously correspondent change in the worth of, and demand for, all the rest;—a change as inevitable and as accurately balanced (though often in its process as untraceable) as the change in volume of the outflowing river from some vast lake, caused by change in the volume of the inflowing streams, though no eye can trace, nor instrument detect, motion, either on its surface, or in the depth.

65. Thus, then, the real working power or worth of the currency is founded on the entire sum of the relative estimates formed by the population of its possessions; a change in this estimate in any direction (and therefore every change in the national character), instantly alters the value of money, in its second great function of commanding labour. But we must always carefully and sternly distinguish between this worth of currency, dependent on the conceived or appreciated value of what it represents, and the worth of it, dependent on the *existence* of what it represents. A currency is *true or false*, in proportion to the security with which it gives claim to the possession of land, house, horse, or picture; but a currency is *strong or weak*,[1] worth much or worth

[1] [That is to say, the love of money is founded first on the intenseness of desire for given things; a youth will rob the till, now-a-days, for pantomime tickets and cigars; the "strength" of the currency being irresistible to him, in consequence of his desire for those luxuries.]

little, in proportion to the degree of estimate in which the nation holds the house, horse, or picture which is claimed. Thus the power of the English currency has been, till of late, largely based on the national estimate of horses and of wine: so that a man might always give any price to furnish choicely his stable, or his cellar; and receive public approval therefore: but if he gave the same sum to furnish his library, he was called mad, or a biblio-maniac. And although he might lose his fortune by his horses, and his health or life by his cellar, and rarely lost either by his books, he was yet never called a Hippo-maniac nor an Oino-maniac; but only Biblio-maniac, because the current worth of money was understood to be legitimately founded on cattle and wine, but not on literature. The prices lately given at sales for pictures and MSS. indicate some tendency to change in the national character in this respect, so that the worth of the currency may even come in time to rest, in an acknowledged manner, somewhat on the state and keeping of the Bedford missal, as well as on the health of Caractacus or Blink Bonny; and old pictures be considered property, no less than old port. They might have been so before now, but that it is more difficult to choose the one than the other.

66. Now, observe, all these sources of variation in the power of the currency exist, wholly irrespective of the influences of vice, indolence, and improvidence. We have hitherto supposed, throughout the analysis, every professing labourer to labour honestly, heartily, and in harmony with his fellows. We have now to bring farther into the calculation the effects of relative industry,

onour, and forethought; and thus to follow out
ıe bearings of our second inquiry: Who are the
olders of the Store and Currency, and in what
roportions?

This, however, we must reserve for our next
aper—noticing here only that, however distinct
he several branches of the subject are, radically,
hey are so interwoven in their issues that we
annot rightly treat any one, till we have taken
ognisance of all. Thus the need of the currency
a proportion to number of population is mate-
ially influenced by the probable number of the
olders in proportion to the non-holders; and
his again, by the number of holders of goods,
r wealth, in proportion to the non-holders of
oods. For as, by definition, the currency is a
laim to goods which are not possessed, its quantity
ndicates the number of claimants in proportion
o the number of holders; and the force and
omplexity of claim. For if the claims be not
omplex, currency as a means of exchange may
e very small in quantity. A sells some corn
o B, receiving a promise from B to pay in
attle, which A then hands over to C, to get
ome wine. C in due time claims the cattle
from B; and B takes back his promise. These
exchanges have, or might have been, all effected
with a single coin or promise; and the propor-
tion of the currency to the store would in such
circumstances indicate only the circulating vitality
of it—that is to say, the quantity and convenient
divisibility of that part of the store which the
habits of the nation keep in circulation. If a
cattle breeder is content to live with his house-
hold chiefly on meat and milk, and does not

want rich furniture, or jewels, or books—if wine and corn grower maintains himself and hi men chiefly on grapes and bread;—if the wive and daughters of families weave and spin th clothing of the household, and the nation, as whole, remains content with the produce of it own soil and the work of its own hands, it ha little occasion for circulating media. It pledge and promises little and seldom; exchanges onl so far as exchange is necessary for life. Th store belongs to the people in whose hands it i found, and money is little needed either as a expression of right, or practical means of divisio and exchange.

67. But in proportion as the habits of th nation become complex and fantastic (and the may be both, without therefore being civilised) its circulating medium must increase in propor tion to its store. If every one wants a littl of everything,—if food must be of many kinds and dress of many fashions,—if multitudes liv by work which, ministering to fancy, has its pay measured by fancy, so that large prices will b given by one person for what is valueless t another,—if there are great inequalities of know ledge, causing great inequalities of estimate,— and, finally, and worst of all, if the currency itself, from its largeness, and the power which the possession of it implies, becomes the sole object of desire with large numbers of the nation, so that the holding of it is disputed among them as the main object of life:—in each and all of these cases, the currency necessarily enlarges in proportion to the store; and as a means of exchange and division, as a bond of right, and as

object of passion, has a more and more im-
tant and malignant power over the nation's
lings, character, and life.

Against which power, when, as a bond of Right,
becomes too conspicuous and too burdensome,
popular voice is apt to be raised in a violent
l irrational manner, leading to revolution in-
ad of remedy. Whereas all possibility of
onomy depends on the clear assertion and
intenance of this bond of right, however
rdensome. The first necessity of all economi-
government is to secure the unquestioned and
questionable working of the great law of Pro-
rty—that a man who works for a thing shall
allowed to get it, keep it, and consume it, in
ace; and that he who does not eat his cake
day, shall be seen, without grudging, to have
cake to-morrow. This, I say, is the first
int to be secured by social law; without this,
political advance, nay, no political existence,
in any sort possible. Whatever evil, luxury,
quity, may seem to result from it, this is
vertheless the first of all Equities; and to the
forcement of this, by law and police-truncheon,
e nation must always primarily set its mind—
at the cupboard door may have a firm lock to
and no man's dinner be carried off by the
bb, on its way home from the baker's. Which,
us fearlessly asserting, we shall endeavour in
xt paper to consider how far it may be prac-
able for the mob itself, also, in due breadth of
sh, to have dinners to carry home.

CHAPTER III

COIN-KEEPING

68. It will be seen by reference to the last chapte that our present task is to examine the relatio of holders of store to holders of currency; an of both to those who hold neither. In order t do this, we must determine on which side we ar to place substances such as gold, commonly know as bases of currency. By aid of previous defini tions the reader will now be able to understan closer statements than have yet been possible.

69. *The currency of any country consists of ever document acknowledging debt, which is transferabl in the country.*[1]

This transferableness depends upon its intel ligibility and credit. Its intelligibility depend chiefly on the difficulty of forging anything lik it;—its credit much on national character, bu ultimately *always on the existence of substantia means of meeting its demands.*[2]

[1] [Remember this definition: it is of great importance a opposed to the imperfect ones usually given. When firs these essays were published, I remember one of their reviewer asking contemptuously, "Is half-a-crown a document?" i never having before occurred to him that a document migh be stamped as well as written, and stamped on silver as wel as on parchment.]

[2] [I do not mean the demand of the holder of a five-pound note for five pounds, but the demand of the holder of a pound for a pound's worth of something good.]

As the degrees of transferableness are variable, ɔme documents passing only in certain places, ıd others passing, if at all, for less than their scribed value,) both the mass, and, so to speak, iidity, of the currency, are variable. True or ɪrfect currency flows freely, like a pure stream; becomes sluggish or stagnant in proportion to .e quantity of less transferable matter which ixes with it, adding to its bulk, but diminish- g its purity. [Articles of commercial value, on hich bills are drawn, increase the currency in- finitely; and substances of intrinsic value, if amped or signed without restriction so as to ɛcome acknowledgments of debt, increase it definitely also.] Every bit of gold found in ustralia, so long as it remains uncoined, is an ɪticle offered for sale like any other; but as ɔon as it is coined into pounds, it diminishes ıe value of every pound we have now in our ɔckets.

70. Legally authorised or national currency, in s perfect condition, is a form of public acknow- dgment of debt, so regulated and divided that ıy person presenting a commodity of tried orth in the public market, shall, if he please, ɛceive in exchange for it a document giving him aim to the return of its equivalent, (1) in any lace, (2) at any time, and (3) in any kind.

When currency is quite healthy and vital, the ersons entrusted with its management are always ble to give on demand either,

A. The assigning document for the assigned uantity of goods. Or,

B. The assigned quantity of goods for the ssigning document.

If they cannot give document for goods, t
national exchange is at fault.

If they cannot give goods for document, t
national credit is at fault.

The nature and power of the document a
therefore to be examined under the three relatio
it bears to Place, Time, and Kind.

71. (1.) It gives claim to the return of equiv
lent wealth in any *Place*. Its use in this functi
is to save carriage, so that parting with a bush
of corn in London, we may receive an order f
a bushel of corn at the Antipodes, or elsewhe
To be perfect in this use, the substance of curren
must be to the maximum portable, credible, a
intelligible. Its non-acceptance or discredit r
sults always from some form of ignorance
dishonour: so far as such interruptions rise o
of differences in denomination, there is no grou
for their continuance among civilised nations.
may be convenient in one country to use chief
copper for coinage, in another silver, and
another gold,—reckoning accordingly in centime
francs, or zecchins: but that a franc should
different in weight and value from a shillin
and a zwanziger vary from both, is wanton lo
of commercial power.

72. (2.) It gives claim to the return of equiv
lent wealth at any *Time*. In this second us
currency is the exponent of accumulation:
renders the laying-up of store at the comma
of individuals unlimitedly possible;—whereas, b
for its intervention, all gathering would be co
fined within certain limits by the bulk of pr
perty, or by its decay, or the difficulty of i
guardianship. "I will pull down my barns a

ild greater," cannot be a daily saying; and
material investment is enlargement of care.
ie national currency transfers the guardianship
the store to many; and preserves to the
iginal producer the right of re-entering on its
ssession at any future period.

73. (3.) It gives claim (practical, though not
gal) to the return of equivalent wealth in any
ind. It is a transferable right, not merely to
is or that, but to anything; and its power
this function is proportioned to the range of
ioice. If you give a child an apple or a toy, you
ve him a determinate pleasure, but if you give
m a penny, an indeterminate one, proportioned
the range of selection offered by the shops in
ie village. The power of the world's currency
similarly in proportion to the openness of the
orld's fair, and, commonly, enhanced by the
illiancy of external aspect, rather than solidity,
its wares.

74. We have said that the currency consists
orders for equivalent goods. If equivalent,
ieir quality must be guaranteed. The kinds of
oods chosen for specific claim must, therefore,
e capable of test, while, also, that a store may
e kept in hand to meet the call of the currency,
nallness of bulk, with great relative value, is
esirable; and indestructibility, over at least a
ertain period, essential.

Such indestructibility, and facility of being
ested, are united in gold; its intrinsic value is
reat, and its imaginary value greater; so that,
artly through indolence, partly through neces-
ty and want of organisation, most nations have
greed to take gold for the only basis of their

currencies;—with this grave disadvantage, th
its portability enabling the metal to become
active part of the medium of exchange, the strea
of the currency itself becomes opaque with gold
half currency and half commodity, in unison
functions which partly neutralise, partly enhan
each other's force.

75. They partly neutralise, since in so far
the gold is commodity, it is bad currency, becau
liable to sale; and in so far as it is currency,
is bad commodity, because its exchange val
interferes with its practical use. Especially
employment in the higher branches of the a
becomes unsafe on account of its liability to
melted down for exchange.

Again. They partly enhance, since in so
as the gold has acknowledged intrinsic value,
is good currency, because everywhere acceptabl
and in so far as it has legal exchangeable valu
its worth as a commodity is increased. We wa
no gold in the form of dust or crystal; but
seek for it coined, because in that form it w
pay baker and butcher. And this worth
exchange not only absorbs a large quantity
that use,[1] but greatly increases the effect on t

[1] [Read and think over, the following note very carefully.]
The waste of labour in obtaining the gold, though it can
be estimated by help of any existing data, may be understo
in its bearing on entire economy by supposing it limited
transactions between two persons. If two farmers in Austra
have been exchanging corn and cattle with each other
years, keeping their accounts of reciprocal debt in any sim
way, the sum of the possessions of either would not
diminished, though the part of it which was lent or borrow
were only reckoned by marks on a stone, or notches on a tr
and the one counted himself accordingly, so many scratch
or so many notches, better than the other. But it would so
be seriously diminished if, discovering gold in their fields, ea

gination of the quantity used in the arts. us, in brief, the force of the functions is in- ased, but their precision blunted, by their son.

6. These inconveniences, however, attach to d as a basis of currency on account of its tability and preciousness. But a far greater onvenience attaches to it as the only legal is of currency. Imagine gold to be only ainable in masses weighing several pounds h, and its value, like that of malachite or rble, proportioned to its largeness of bulk;— could not then get itself confused with the rency in daily use, but it might still remain its basis; and this second inconvenience would l affect it, namely, that its significance as an pression of debt varies, as that of every other icle would, with the popular estimate of its irableness, and with the quantity offered in market. My power of obtaining other goods gold depends always on the strength of public ssion for gold, and on the limitation of its antity, so that when either of two things ppens—that the world esteems gold less, or ds it more easily—*my right of claim is in that ree effaced;* and it has been even gravely intained that a discovery of a mountain of d would cancel the National Debt; in other rds, that men may be paid for what costs uch in what costs nothing. Now, it is true at there is little chance of sudden convulsion this respect; the world will not so rapidly

olved only to accept golden counters for a reckoning; and ordingly, whenever he wanted a sack of corn or a cow, obliged to go and wash sand for a week before he could the means of giving a receipt for them.

increase in wisdom as to despise gold on a sudde
and perhaps may [for a little time] desire it mo
eagerly the more easily it is obtained; neverth
less, the right of debt ought not to rest on
basis of imagination; nor should the frame of
national currency vibrate with every miser's pan
and every merchant's imprudence.

77. There are two methods of avoiding this i
security, which would have been fallen upon lo
ago, if, instead of calculating the conditions
the supply of gold, men had only considered ho
the world might live and manage its affairs wit
out gold at all.[1] One is, to base the curren
on substances of truer intrinsic value; the othe
to base it on several substances instead of on
If I can only claim gold, the discovery of a gold
mountain starves me; but if I can claim brea
the discovery of a continent of corn-fields ne
not trouble me. If, however, I wish to exchan
my bread for other things, a good harvest w
for the time limit my power in this respect; b
if I can claim either bread, iron, or silk at pleasu
the standard of value has three feet instead
one, and will be proportionately firm. Thu
ultimately, the steadiness of currency depen
upon the breadth of its base; but the difficul
of organisation increasing with this breadth, t

[1] It is difficult to estimate the curious futility of discussio
such as that which lately occupied a section of the Briti
Association, on the absorption of gold, while no one can p
duce even the simplest of the data necessary for the inqui
To take the first occurring one,—What means have we
ascertaining the weight of gold employed this year in t
toilettes of the women of Europe (not to speak of Asia); an
supposing it known, what means of conjecturing the weig
by which, next year, their fancies, and the changes of sty
among their jewellers, will diminish or increase it?

scovery of the condition at once safest and ost convenient[1] can only be by long analysis, iich must for the present be deferred. Gold silver[2] may always be retained in limited use, a luxury of coinage and questionless standard, one weight and alloy among all nations, vary- g only in the die. The purity of coinage, when etallic, is closely indicative of the honesty of e system of revenue, and even of the general gnity of the State.[3]

78. Whatever the article or articles may be iich the national currency promises to pay, a emium on that article indicates bankruptcy of e government in that proportion, the division of assets being restrained only by the remaining nfidence of the holders of notes in the return prosperity to the firm. Currencies of forced ceptance, or of unlimited issue, are merely rious modes of disguising taxation, and delay- g its pressure, until it is too late to interfere th the cause of pressure. To do away with e possibility of such disguise would have been iong the first results of a true economical

See, in Pope's epistle to Lord Bathurst, his sketch of the iculties and uses of a currency literally "pecuniary"—(con- ing of herds of cattle).

'His Grace will game—to White's a bull be led," etc.

Perhaps both; perhaps silver only. It may be found iedient ultimately to leave gold free for use in the arts. As neans of reckoning, the standard might be, and in some es has already been, entirely ideal.—See Mill's *Political nomy*, book iii. chap. VII. at beginning.

The purity of the drachma and zecchin were not without nificance of the state of intellect, art, and policy, both in iens and Venice;—a fact first impressed upon me ten years , when, in taking daguerreotypes at Venice, I found no chaseable gold pure enough to gild them with, except that he old Venetian zecchin.

science, had any such existed; but there hav been too many motives for the concealment, s long as it could by any artifices be maintaine to permit hitherto even the founding of such science.

79. And indeed, it is only through evil co duct, wilfully persisted in, that there is an embarrassment, either in the theory or workin of currency. No exchequer is ever embarrasse nor is any financial question difficult of solu tion, when people keep their practice honest, an their heads cool. But when governments lose a office of pilotage, protection, or scrutiny; and liv only in magnificence of authorised larceny, an polished mendicity; or when the people, choos ing Speculation (the *s* usually redundant in th spelling) instead of Toil, visit no dishonesty wit chastisement, that each may with impunity tak his dishonest turn;—there are no tricks of financia terminology that will save them; all signatur and mintage do but magnify the ruin they retard and even the riches that remain, stagnant or cur rent, change only from the slime of Avernus t the sand of Phlegethon—*quick*sand at the em bouchure;—land fluently recommended by recen auctioneers as "eligible for building leases."

80. Finally, then, the power of true currency is four-fold.

(1.) Credit power. Its worth in exchange, de pendent on public opinion of the stability and honesty of the issuer.

(2.) Real worth. Supposing the gold, or what ever else the currency expressly promises, to be required from the issuer, for all his notes; and that the call cannot be met in full. Then the

ctual worth of the document would be, and its ctual worth at any moment is, therefore, to be efined as, what the division of the assets of the suer would produce for it.

(3.) The exchange power of its base. Granting iat we can get five pounds in gold for our note, remains a question how much of other things e can get for five pounds in gold. The more other things exist, and the less gold, the greater is power.

(4.) The power over labour, exercised by the ven quantity of the base, or of the things to be ɔt for it. The question in this case is, how much ork, and (question of questions!) *whose* work, to be had for the food which five pounds will ıy. This depends on the number of the popu- tion, on their gifts, and on their dispositions, ith which, down to their slightest humours, and) to their strongest impulses, the power of the rrency varies.

81. Such being the main conditions of national rrency, we proceed to examine those of the tal currency, under the broad definition, "trans- rable acknowledgment of debt;"[1] among the

[1] Under which term, observe, we include all documents of ɔt which, being honest, might be transferable, though they ıctically are not transferred; while we exclude all documents ich are in reality worthless, though in fact transferred tem- rarily, as bad money is. The document of honest debt, not nsferred, is merely to paper currency as gold withdrawn m circulation is to that of bullion. Much confusion has pt into the reasoning on this subject from the idea that the hdrawal from circulation is a definable state, whereas it is a .duated state, and indefinable. The sovereign in my pocket withdrawn from circulation as long as I choose to keep it re. It is no otherwise withdrawn if I bury it, nor even if I ɔose to make it, and others, into a golden cup, and drink of them · since a rise in the price of the wine, or of other

many forms of which there are in effect or
two, distinctly opposed; namely, the ackno
ledgments of debt which will be paid, and
debts which will not. Documents, whether
whole or part, of bad debt, being to those
good debt as bad money to bullion, we put
the present these forms of imposture aside
in analysing a metal we should wash it clear
dross), and then range, in their exact quantiti
the true currency of the country on one si
and the store or property of the country on t
other. We place gold, and all such substanc
on the side of documents, as far as they oper
by signature;—on the side of store as far as th
operate by value. Then the currency represe
the quantity of debt in the country, and t
store the quantity of its possession. The own
ship of all the property is divided between t
holders of currency and holders of store, a
whatever the claiming value of the currency
at any moment, that value is to be deduct
from the riches of the store-holders.

82. Farther, as true currency represents

things, may at any time cause me to melt the cup and thro
back into currency; and the bullion operates on the prices
the things in the market as directly, though not as forcib
while it is in the form of a cup as it does in the form o
sovereign. No calculation can be founded on my humour
either case. If I like to handle rouleaus, and therefore kee
quantity of gold, to play with, in the form of jointed basa
columns, it is all one in its effect on the market as if I kep
in the form of twisted filigree, or, steadily "amicus lamna
beat the narrow gold pieces into broad ones, and dined
them. The probability is greater that I break the roul
than that I melt the plate; but the increased probability is
calculable. Thus, documents are only withdrawn from
currency when cancelled, and bullion when it is so effectu
lost as that the probability of finding it is no greater than
finding new gold in the mine.

lefinition debts which will be paid, it represents ither the debtor's wealth, or his ability and villingness; that is to say, either wealth existing n his hands transferred to him by the creditor, r wealth which, as he is at some time surely to eturn it, he is either increasing, or, if diminishng, has the will and strength to reproduce. A ound currency therefore, as by its increase it epresents enlarging debt, represents also enarging means; but in this curious way, that a ertain quantity of it marks the deficiency of the realth of the country from what it would have een if that currency had not existed.[1] In this espect it is like the detritus of a mountain; ssume that it lies at a fixed angle, and the more ne detritus, the larger must be the mountain; ut it would have been larger still, had there een none.

83. Farther, though, as above stated, every an possessing money has usually also some roperty beyond what is necessary for his imme-iate wants, and men possessing property usually

[1] For example, suppose an active peasant, having got his ound into good order and built himself a comfortable house, ding time still on his hands, sees one of his neighbours little le to work, and ill-lodged, and offers to build him also a use, and to put his land in order, on condition of receiving r a given period rent for the building and tithe of the fruits. ne offer is accepted, and a document given promissory of rent d tithe. This note is money. It can only be good money the man who has incurred the debt so far recovers his rength as to be able to take advantage of the help he has ceived, and meet the demand of the note; if he lets his use fall to ruin, and his field to waste, his promissory note ll soon be valueless: but the existence of the note at all is a nsequence of his not having worked so stoutly as the other. t him gain as much as to be able to pay back the entire bt; the note is cancelled, and we have two rich store-holders d no currency.

also hold currency beyond what is necessary f
their immediate exchanges, it mainly determir
the class to which they belong, whether in th
eyes the money is an adjunct of the property,
the property of the money. In the first case t
holder's pleasure is in his possessions, and in l
money subordinately, as the means of betteri
or adding to them. In the second, his pleasu
is in his money, and in his possessions only
representing it. (In the first case the money
as an atmosphere surrounding the wealth, risi
from it and raining back upon it; but in t
second, it is as a deluge, with the wealth flo
ing, and for the most part perishing in it.[1]) T
shortest distinction between the men is that t
one wishes always to buy, and the other to sell.

84. Such being the great relations of the class
their several characters are of the highest i
portance to the nation; for on the character
the store-holders chiefly depend the preservatic
display, and serviceableness of its wealth;
that of the currency-holders, its distribution;
that of both, its reproduction.

We shall, therefore, ultimately find it to be
incomparably greater importance to the nati
in whose hands the thing is put, than how mu
of it is got; and that the character of the hold
may be conjectured by the quality of the stor
for such and such a man always asks for su
and such a thing; nor only asks for it, but if
can be bettered, betters it: so that possessi

[1] [You need not trouble yourself to make out the sentence
parenthesis, unless you like, but do not think it is mere me
phor. It states a fact which I could not have stated so short
but by metaphor.]

d possessor reciprocally act on each other, rough the entire sum of national possession. ıe base nation, asking for base things, sinks ily to deeper vileness of nature and weakness use; while the noble nation, asking for noble ings, rises daily into diviner eminence in both; e tendency to degradation being surely marked "ἀταξία"; that is to say, (expanding the eek thought), by carelessness as to the hands which things are put, consequent dispute for e acquisition of them, disorderliness in accumu- ion of them, inaccuracy in estimate of them, d bluntness in conception as to the entire ture of possession.

35. The currency-holders always increase in mber and influence in proportion to the blunt- ss of nature and clumsiness of the store-holders; the less use people can make of things, the re they want of them, and the sooner weary of m, and want to change them for something e; and all frequency of change increases the antity and power of currency. The large rency-holder himself is essentially a person o never has been able to make up his mind as what he will have, and proceeds, therefore, in gue collection and aggregation, with more and re infuriate passion, urged by complacency in gress, vacancy in idea, and pride of conquest. While, however, there is this obscurity in the ure of possession of currency, there is a charm the seclusion of it, which is to some people y enticing. In the enjoyment of real pro- ty, others must partly share. The groom has ne enjoyment of the stud, and the gardener the garden; but the money is, or seems, shut

up; it is wholly enviable. No one else can hav part in any complacencies arising from it.

The power of arithmetical comparison is als a great thing to unimaginative people. The know always they are so much better than the were, in money; so much better than other in money; but wit cannot be so compared, no character. My neighbour cannot be convince that I am wiser than he is, but he can, that am worth so much more; and the universalit of the conviction is no less flattering than i clearness. Only a few can understand,—nor measure—and few will willingly adore, superior ties in other things; but everybody can unde stand money, everybody can count it, and mo will worship it.

86. Now, these various temptations to accum lation would be politically harmless if what w vainly accumulated had any fair chance of bein wisely spent. For as accumulation cannot go o for ever, but must some day end in its reverse- if this reverse were indeed a beneficial distrib tion and use, as irrigation from reservoir, th fever of gathering, though perilous to the gathere might be serviceable to the community. But constantly happens (so constantly, that it ma be stated as a political law having few excep tions), that what is unreasonably gathered also unreasonably spent by the persons int whose hands it finally falls. Very frequently is spent in war, or else in a stupefying luxur twice hurtful, both in being indulged by the ric and witnessed by the poor. So that the *mal ten* and *mal dare* are as correlative as compleme tary colours; and the circulation of wealth, whic

ight to be soft, steady, strong, far-sweeping, id full of warmth, like the Gulf stream, being arrowed into an eddy, and concentrated on a oint, changes into the alternate suction and sur- nder of Charybdis. Which is indeed, I doubt ot, the true meaning of that marvellous fable, infinite," as Bacon said of it, "in matter of editation." [1]

87. It is a strange habit of wise humanity to eak in enigmas only, so that the highest truths id usefullest laws must be hunted for through hole picture-galleries of dreams, which to the ilgar seem dreams only. Thus Homer, the reek tragedians, Plato, Dante, Chaucer, Shake- eare, and Goethe, have hidden all that is chiefly rviceable in their work, and in all the various erature they absorbed and re-embodied, under pes which have rendered it quite useless to the ultitude. What is worse, the two primal de- arers of moral discovery, Homer and Plato, are rtly at issue; for Plato's logical power quenched s imagination, and he became incapable of derstanding the purely imaginative element ther in poetry or painting: he therefore some- hat overrates the pure discipline of passionate t in song and music, and misses that of medi- tive art. There is, however, a deeper reason r his distrust of Homer. His love of justice, id reverently religious nature, make him dread, death, every form of fallacy; but chiefly, llacy, respecting the world to come (his own

[1] [What follows, to the end of the chapter, was a note only, the first printing; but for after service, it is of more value in any other part of the book, so I have put it into the main text.]

myths being only symbolic exponents of a rationa hope). We shall perhaps now every day dis cover more clearly how right Plato was in this and feel ourselves more and more wonderstruck that men such as Homer and Dante (and, in an inferior sphere, Milton), not to speak of the great sculptors and painters of every age, have per mitted themselves, though full of all nobleness and wisdom, to coin idle imaginations of the mysteries of eternity, and guide the faiths of the families of the earth by the courses of their own vague and visionary arts: while the indisputable truths of human life and duty, respecting which they all have but one voice, lie hidden behind these veils of phantasy, unsought, and often un suspected. I will gather carefully, out of Dante and Homer, what, in this kind, bears on our subject, in its due place; the first broad intention of their symbols may be sketched at once.

88. The rewards of a worthy use of riches subordinate to other ends, are shown by Dante in the fifth and sixth orbs of Paradise; for the punishment of their unworthy use, three places are assigned; one for the avaricious and prodiga whose souls are lost (*Hell*, canto 7); one for the avaricious and prodigal whose souls are capable of purification (*Purgatory*, canto 19); and one for the usurers, of whom *none* can be redeemed (*Hell*, canto 17). The first group, the largest in all hell ("gente più che altrove troppa," compare Virgil's "quæ maxima turba"), meet in contrary currents, *as the waves of Charybdis*, casting weights at each other from opposite sides. This wearines of contention is the chief element of their torture so marked by the beautiful lines beginning "O

ıoi, figliuol," etc.: (but the usurers, who made .eir money inactively, *sit* on the sand, equally ithout rest, however. "Di qua, di la, soccor- en," etc.). For it is not avarice, but *contention* r riches, leading to this double misuse of them, hich, in Dante's light, is the unredeemable sin. he place of its punishment is guarded by Plutus, the great enemy," and "la fièra crudele," a irit quite different from the Greek Plutus, who, ough old and blind, is not cruel, and is curable, as to become far-sighted. (*οὐ τυφλὸς ἀλλ' ὺ βλέπων.*—Plato's epithets in first book of e *Laws*.) Still more does this Dantesque type ffer from the resplendent Plutus of Goethe in e second part of *Faust*, who is the personified ower of wealth for good or evil—not the passion r wealth; and again from the Plutus of Spenser, ho is the passion of mere aggregation. Dante's lutus is specially and definitely the Spirit of ntention and Competition, or Evil Commerce; ecause, as I showed before, this kind of com- erce "makes all men strangers"; his speech is erefore unintelligible, and no single soul of all ose ruined by him *has recognisable features*.

On the other hand, the redeemable sins of varice and prodigality are, in Dante's sight, ose which are without deliberate or calculated peration. The lust, or lavishness, of riches can e purged, so long as there has been no servile nsistency of dispute and competition for them. he sin is spoken of as that of degradation by e love of earth; it is purified by deeper humilia- on—the souls crawl on their bellies; their chant , "my soul cleaveth unto the dust." But the irits thus condemned are all recognisable, and

even the worst examples of the thirst for gol
which they are compelled to tell the histories
during the night, are of men swept by the passio
of avarice into violent crime, but not sold to i
steady work.

89. The precept given to each of these spiri
for its deliverance is—Turn thine eyes to th
lucre (lure) which the Eternal King rolls wit
the mighty wheels. Otherwise, the wheels of th
"Greater Fortune," of which the constellation
ascending when Dante's dream begins. Compa
George Herbert—

> "Lift up thy head;
> Take stars for money; stars not to be told
> By any art, yet to be purchased."

And Plato's notable sentence in the third boo
of the *Polity*:—"Tell them they have divi
gold and silver in their souls for ever; that the
need no money stamped of men—neither ma
they otherwise than impiously mingle the gathe
ing of the divine with the mortal treasure, *f*
through that which the law of the multitude h
coined, endless crimes have been done and suffered
but in theirs is neither pollution nor sorrow."

90. At the entrance of this place of punis
ment an evil spirit is seen by Dante, quite oth
than the "Gran Nemico." The great enemy
obeyed knowingly and willingly; but the spir
—feminine—and called a Siren—is the "*Decei*
fulness of riches," ἀπάτη πλούτου of the Gospel
winning obedience by guile. This is the Idol
riches, made doubly phantasmal by Dante's seei
her in a dream. She is lovely to look upon, an
enchants by her sweet singing, but her womb
loathsome. Now, Dante does not call her o

)f the Sirens carelessly, any more than he speaks)f Charybdis carelessly; and though he had got :t the meaning of Homeric fable only through Virgil's obscure tradition of it, the clue he has given us is quite enough. Bacon's interpretation, "the Sirens, *or pleasures*," which has become universal since his time, is opposed alike to Plato's meaning and Homer's The Sirens are not pleasures, but *Desires:* in the Odyssey they are the phantoms of vain desire; but in Plato's Vision of Destiny, phantoms of divine desire; singing each a different note on the circles of the distaff of Necessity, but forming one harmony, to which the three great Fates put words. Dante, however, adopted the Homeric conception of them, which was that they were demons of the Imagination, not carnal; (desire of the eyes; not lust of the flesh;) therefore said to be daughters of the Muses. Yet not of the Muses, heavenly or historical, but of the Muse of pleasure; and they are at first winged, because even vain hope excites and helps when first formed; but afterwards, contending for the possession of the imagination with the Muses themselves, they are deprived of their wings.

91. And thus we are to distinguish the Siren power from the power of Circe, who is no daughter of the Muses, but of the strong elements, Sun and Sea; her power is that of frank, and full vital pleasure, which, if governed and watched, nourishes men; but, unwatched, and having no "moly," bitterness or delay, mixed with it, turns men into beasts, but does not slay them,—leaves them, on the contrary, power of revival. She is herself indeed an Enchantress;—pure Animal life;

transforming—or degrading—but always wonder ful (she puts the stores on board the ship invisibly and is gone again, like a ghost); even the wil beasts rejoice and are softened around her cave the transforming poisons she gives to men ar mixed with no rich feast, but with pure an right nourishment,—Pramnian wine, cheese, an flour; that is, wine, milk, and corn, the thre great sustainers of life—it is their own fault i these make swine of them; (see Appendix V. and swine are chosen merely as the type of con sumption; as Plato's ὑῶν πόλις, in the secon book of the *Polity*, and perhaps chosen by Home with a deeper knowledge of the likeness in variet of nourishment, and internal form of body.

"Et quel est, s'il vous plait, cet audacieu animal qui se permet d'être bâti au dedans comm une jolie petite fille?

"Hélas! chère enfant, j'ai honte de le nommer et il ne faudra pas m'en vouloir. C'est . . . c'es le cochon. Ce n'est pas précisément flatteur pou vous; mais nous en sommes tout là, et si cel vous contrarie par trop, il faut aller vous plaindr au bon Dieu qui a voulu que les choses fussen arrangées ainsi: seulement le cochon, qui n pense qu'à manger, a l'estomac bien plus vast que nous et c'est toujours une consolation."—(*Histoire d'une Bouchée de Pain*, Lettre ix.)

92. But the deadly Sirens are in all thing opposed to the Circean power. They promis pleasure, but never give it. They nourish i no wise; but slay by slow death. And wherea they corrupt the heart and the head, instead o merely betraying the senses, there is no recover from their power; they do not tear nor scratch

ike Scylla, but the men who have listened to hem are poisoned, and waste away. Note that he Sirens' field is covered, not merely with the ones, but with the *skins*, of those who have been consumed there. They address themselves, n the part of the song which Homer gives, not o the passions of Ulysses, but to his vanity, and he only man who ever came within hearing of hem, and escaped untempted, was Orpheus, who ilenced the vain imaginations by singing the raises of the gods.

93. It is, then, one of these Sirens whom Dante akes as the phantasm or deceitfulness of riches; ut note further, that she says it was her song hat deceived Ulysses. Look back to Dante's ccount of Ulysses' death, and we find it was ot the love of money, but pride of knowledge, hat betrayed him; whence we get the clue to Dante's complete meaning: that the souls whose ove of wealth is pardonable have been first deeived into pursuit of it by a dream of its higher ises, or by ambition. His Siren is therefore the Philotimé of Spenser, daughter of Mammon—

> "Whom all that folk with such contention
> Do flock about, my deare, my daughter is—
> Honour and dignitie from her alone
> Derived are."

By comparing Spenser's entire account of this Philotimé with Dante's of the Wealth-Siren, we shall get at the full meaning of both poets; but that of Homer lies hidden much more deeply. For his Sirens are indefinite; and they are desires of any evil thing; power of wealth is not specially indicated by him, until, escaping the

harmonious danger of imagination, Ulysses has to choose between two practical ways of life, indicated by the two *rocks* of Scylla and Charybdis. The monsters that haunt them are quite distinct from the rocks themselves, which, having many other subordinate significations, are in the main Labour and Idleness, or getting and spending, each with its attendant monster, or betraying demon. The rock of gaining has its summit in the clouds, invisible, and not to be climbed; that of spending is low, but marked by the cursed fig tree, which has leaves, but no fruit. We know the type elsewhere; and there is a curious latera allusion to it by Dante when Jacopo di Sant Andrea, who had ruined himself by profusion and committed suicide, scatters the leaves of the bush of Lotto degli Agli, endeavouring to hide himself among them. We shall hereafter examine the type completely; here I will only give an approximate rendering of Homer's words, which have been obscured more by translation than even by tradition.

-34. "They are overhanging rocks. The great waves of blue water break round them; and the blessed Gods call them the Wanderers.

"By one of them no winged thing can pass—not even the wild doves that bring ambrosia to their father Jove—but the smooth rock seizes its sacrifice of them." (Not even ambrosia to be had without Labour. The word is peculiar—as a part of anything is offered for sacrifice; especially used of heave-offering.) "It reaches the wide heaven with its top, and a dark-blue cloud rests on it, and never passes; neither does the clear sky hold it, in summer nor in harvest. Nor

ın any man climb it—not if he had twenty ıet and hands, for it is as smooth as though it ere hewn.

"And in the midst of it is a cave which is ırned the way of hell. And therein dwells cylla, whining for prey; her cry, indeed, is no ıuder than that of a newly-born whelp; but ıe herself is an awful thing—nor can any crea- ıre see her face and be glad; no, though it ere a god that rose against her. For she had velve feet, all fore-feet, and six necks, and ter- ble heads on them; and each has three rows teeth, full of black death.

"But the opposite rock is lower than this, ıough but a bow-shot distant; and upon it ıere is a great fig-tree, full of leaves; and under the terrible Charybdis sucks down the black ater. Thrice in the day she sucks it down, and ırice casts it up again; be not thou there when ıe sucks down, for Neptune himself could not ve thee."

[Thus far went my rambling note, in *Fraser's lagazine*. The Editor sent me a compliment on —of which I was very proud; what the Publisher ıought of it, I am not informed; only I know ıat eventually he stopped the papers. I think great deal of it myself, now, and have put it l in large print accordingly, and should like to rite more; but will, on the contrary, self-deny- gly, and in gratitude to any reader who has ot through so much, end my chapter.]

CHAPTER IV

COMMERCE

95. As the currency conveys right of choice o of many things in exchange for one, so Co merce is the agency by which the power of choi is obtained; so that countries producing on timber can obtain for their timber silk and gol or, naturally producing only jewels and fran incense, can obtain for them cattle and corn. this function, commerce is of more importan to a country in proportion to the limitations its products, and the restlessness of its fancy; generally of greater importance towards Northe latitudes.

96. Commerce is necessary, however, not on to exchange local products, but local skill. Labo requiring the agency of fire can only be give abundantly in cold countries; labour requirin suppleness of body and sensitiveness of touc only in warm ones; labour involving accura vivacity of thought only in temperate ones; whi peculiar imaginative actions are produced b extremes of heat and cold, and of light and dar ness. The production of great art is limited climates warm enough to admit of repose in th open air, and cool enough to render such repo delightful. Minor variations in modes of ski

stinguish every locality. The labour which at ıy place is easiest, is in that place cheapest; ıd it becomes often desirable that products ised in one country should be wrought in ıother. Hence have arisen discussions on "Inrnational values" which will be one day reembered as highly curious exercises of the ıman mind. For it will be discovered, in due ourse of tide and time, that international value regulated just as inter-provincial or interırishional value is. Coals and hops are exıanged between Northumberland and Kent on osolutely the same principles as iron and wine etween Lancashire and Spain. The greater readth of an arm of the sea increases the cost, ut does not modify the principle of exchange; ıd a bargain written in two languages will have o other economical results than a bargain written one. The distances of nations are measured, ot by seas, but by ignorances; and their divisions etermined, not by dialects, but by enmities.[1]

97. Of course, a system of international values ıay always be constructed if we assume a relaon of moral law to physical geography; as, for ıstance, that it is right to cheat or rob across river, though not across a road; or across a a, though not across a river, etc.;—again, a ystem of such values may be constructed by

[1] [I have repeated the substance of this and the next paraaph so often since, that I am ashamed and weary. The ing is too true, and too simple, it seems, for anybody ever to elieve. Meantime, the theories of "international values," as plained by Modern Political Economy, have brought about st year's pillage of France by Germany, and the affectionate lations now existing in consequence between the inhabitants the right and left banks of the Rhine.]

assuming similar relations of taxation to physi
geography; as, for instance, that an article shou
be taxed in crossing a river, but not in crossi
a road; or in being carried fifty miles, but n
in being carried five, etc.; such positions a
indeed not easily maintained when once put
logical form; but *one* law of international val
is maintainable in any form: namely, that t
farther your neighbour lives from you, and t
less he understands you, *the more you are bou
to be true in your dealings with him;* becau
your power over him is greater in proportion
his ignorance, and his remedy more difficult
proportion to his distance.[1]

98. I have just said the breadth of sea increas
the cost of exchange. Now note that exchang
or commerce, *in itself*, is always costly; the su
of the value of the goods being diminished b
the cost of their conveyance, and by the mai
tenance of the persons employed in it; so tha
it is only when there is advantage to both pr
ducers (in getting the one thing for the othe
greater than the loss in conveyance, that th
exchange is expedient. And it can only be justl
conducted when the porters kept by the pr
ducers (commonly called merchants) expect *me
pay, and not profit.*[2] For in just commerce ther
are but three parties—the two persons or societie
exchanging, and the agent or agents of exchange
the value of the things to be exchanged is know
by both the exchangers, and each receives equa

[1] [I wish some one would examine and publish accurate
the late dealings of the Governors of the Cape with th
Caffirs.]

[2] [By "pay," I mean wages for labour or skill; by "profit,
gain dependent on the state of the market.]

ue, neither gaining nor losing (for whatever
e gains the other loses). The intermediate
nt is paid a known percentage by both, partly
labour in conveyance, partly for care, know-
ge, and risk; every attempt at concealment
the amount of the pay indicates either effort
the part of the agent to obtain unjust profit,
effort on the part of the exchangers to refuse
n just pay. But for the most part it is the
t, namely the effort on the part of the mer-
ant to obtain larger profit (so-called) by buying
eap and selling dear. Some part, indeed, of
s larger gain is deserved, and might be openly
manded, because it is the reward of the mer-
ant's knowledge, and foresight of probable
essity; but the greater part of such gain
unjust; and unjust in this most fatal way,
at it depends, first, on keeping the exchangers
norant of the exchange value of the articles;
d, secondly, on taking advantage of the buyer's
ed and the seller's poverty. It is, therefore,
e of the essential, and quite the most fatal,
ms of usury; for usury means merely taking
exorbitant[1] sum for the use of anything; and
is no matter whether the exorbitance is on
n or exchange, on rent or on price—the essence
the usury being that it is obtained by advan-
ge of opportunity or necessity, and not as due

[1] [Since I wrote this, I have worked out the question of
erest of money, which always, until lately, had embarrassed
i defeated me; and I find that the payment of interest of
y amount whatever is real "usury," and entirely unjusti-
ble. I was shown this chiefly by the pamphlets issued by
. W. C. Sillar, though I greatly regret the impatience which
ises Mr. Sillar to regard usury as the radical crime in
litical economy. There are others worse, that act with it.]

reward for labour. All the great thinkers, the fore, have held it to be unnatural and impio in so far as it feeds on the distress of others, their folly.[1] Nevertheless, attempts to repress by law must for ever be ineffective; though Pla Bacon, and the First Napoleon—all three of the men who knew somewhat more of humani than the "British merchant" usually does tried their hands at it, and have left some (pr bably) good moderative forms of law, which will examine in their place. But the only fir check upon it must be radical purifying of t national character, for being, as Bacon calls "concessum propter duritiem cordis," it is to done away with by touching the heart onl not, however, without medicinal law—as in t case of the other permission, "propter duritiem But in this more than in anything (though mu in all, and though in this he would not hims allow of their application, for his own laws again usury are sharp enough), Plato's words in t fourth book of the *Polity* are true, that neith drugs, nor charms, nor burnings, will touch deep-lying political sore, any more than a de bodily one; but only right and utter change constitution: and that "they do but lose the labour who think that by any tricks of law the can get the better of these mischiefs of commerc and see not that they hew at a Hydra."

99. And indeed this Hydra seems so unsla able, and sin sticks so fast between the joinin of the stones of buying and selling, that "

[1] Hence Dante's companionship of Cahors, *Inf.*, canto x supported by the view taken of the matter throughout t Middle Ages, in common with the Greeks.

ide" in things, or literally "cross-give" them, s warped itself, by the instinct of nations, into eir worst word for fraud; for, because in trade ere cannot but be trust, and it seems also that ere cannot but also be injury in answer to it, iat is merely fraud between enemies becomes achery among friends: and "trader," "traditr," and "traitor" are but the same word. ir which simplicity of language there is more ason than at first appears; for as in true mmerce there is no "profit," so in true comerce there is no "sale." The idea of sale is at of an interchange between enemies respecrely endeavouring to get the better one of other; but commerce is an exchange between ends; and there is no desire but that it should just, any more than there would be between embers of the same family.[1] The moment there a bargain over the pottage, the family relation dissolved:—typically, "the days of mourning r my father are at hand." Whereupon follows e resolve, "then will I slay my brother."

100. This inhumanity of mercenary commerce the more notable because it is a fulfilment of e law that the corruption of the best is the orst. For as, taking the body natural for mbol of the body politic, the governing and rming powers may be likened to the brain, and e labouring to the limbs, the mercantile, preding over circulation and communication of

[1] [I do not wonder when I re-read this, that people talk out my "sentiment." But there is no sentiment whatever in e matter. It is a hard and bare commercial fact, that if two ople deal together who don't try to cheat each other, they ll, in a given time, make more money out of each other than they do. See § 104.]

things in changed utilities, is symbolised by t
heart; and, if that hardens, all is lost. A
this is the ultimate lesson which the leader
English intellect meant for us, (a lesson, indee
not all his own, but part of the old wisdom
humanity,) in the tale of the *Merchant of Venic*
in which the true and incorrupt merchant,—*ki*
and free, beyond every other Shakspearian conce
tion of men,—is opposed to the corrupted me
chant, or usurer; the lesson being deepened
the expression of the strange hatred which t
corrupted merchant bears to the pure one, mix
with intense scorn,—

"This is the fool that lent out money grati
look to him, jailor," (as to lunatic no less tha
criminal) the enmity, observe, having its syn
bolism literally carried out by being aimed straig
at the heart, and finally foiled by a literal appe
to the great moral law that flesh and bloo
cannot be weighed, enforced by "Portia"

[1] Shakspeare would certainly never have chosen this nam
had he been forced to retain the Roman spelling. Li
Perdita, "lost lady," or Cordelia, "heart-lady," Portia
"fortune" lady. The two great relative groups of word
Fortuna, fero, and fors—Portio, porto, and pars (with t
lateral branch op-portune, im-portune, opportunity, etc.), a
of deep and intricate significance; their various senses of brin
ing, abstracting, and sustaining being all centralised by th
wheel (which bears and moves at once), or still better, the ba
(spera) of fortune,—"Volve sua spera, e beata si gode:" th
motive power of this wheel distinguishing its goddess from th
fixed majesty of Necessitas with her iron nails; or ἀνάγκη, wi
her pillar of fire and iridescent orbits, *fixed* at the centre. Portu
and porta, and gate in its connexion with gain, form anoth
interesting branch group; and Mors, the concentration
delaying, is always to be remembered with Fors, the concen
tration of bringing and bearing, passing on into Fortis an
Fortitude.

[This note is literally a mere memorandum for the futu

"Portion"), the type of divine Fortune, found, ot in gold, nor in silver, but in lead, that is to ay, in endurance and patience, not in splendour; nd finally taught by her lips also, declaring, nstead of the law of quality of "merces," the reater law and quality of mercy, which is not trained, but drops as the rain, blessing him that ives and him that takes. And observe that this mercy" is not the mean "Misericordia," but he mighty "Gratia," answered by Gratitude, bserve Shylock's learning on the, to him de- estable, word, *gratis*, and compare the relations f Grace to Equity given in the second chapter f the second book of the *Memorabilia*;) that is o say, it is the gracious or loving, instead of he strained, or competing manner, of doing hings, answered, not only with "merces" or ay, but with "merci" or thanks. And this is ndeed the meaning of the great benediction Grace, mercy, and peace," for there can be o peace without grace, (not even by help of ifled cannon,) nor even without triplicity of raciousness, for the Greeks, who began but with ne Grace, had to open their scheme into three efore they had done.

101. With the usual tendency of long repeated hought, to take the surface for the deep, we ave conceived these goddesses as if they only ave loveliness to gesture; whereas their true unction is to give graciousness to deed, the ther loveliness arising naturally out of that.

ork which I am now completing in *Fors Clavigera;* it was rinted partly in vanity, but also with real desire to get people o share the interest I found in the careful study of the leading ords in noble languages. Compare the next note.]

In which function Charis becomes Charitas;[1] a
has a name and praise even greater than that
Faith or Truth, for these may be maintain
sullenly and proudly; but Charis is in her cou
tenance always gladdening (Aglaia), and in h
service instant and humble; and the true wi
of Vulcan, or Labour. And it is not until h
sincerity of function is lost, and her mere beaut
contemplated instead of her patience, that sh
is born again of the foam flake, and becom
Aphrodité; and it is then only that she becom
capable of joining herself to war and to th
enmities of men, instead of to labour and the

As Charis becomes Charitas, the word "Cher," or "Dear
passes from Shylock's sense of it (to buy cheap and sell dea
into Antonio's sense of it: emphasised with the final *i*
tender "Cheri," and hushed to English calmness in our nob
"Cherish." The reader must not think that any care can l
misspent in tracing the connexion and power of the words whic
we have to use in the sequel. (See Appendix VI.) Much ed
cation sums itself in making men economise their words, an
understand them. Nor is it possible to estimate the har
which has been done, in matters of higher speculation and co
duct, by loose verbiage, though we may guess at it by obser
ing the dislike which people show to having anything abo
their religion said to them in simple words, because then the
understand it. Thus congregations meet weekly to invoke th
influence of a Spirit of Life and Truth; yet if any part of tha
character were intelligibly expressed to them by the formula
of the service, they would be offended. Suppose, for instance
in the closing benediction, the clergyman were to give vita
significance to the vague word "Holy," and were to say, "th
fellowship of the Helpful and Honest Ghost be with you, an
remain with you always," what would be the horror of many
first at the irreverence of so intelligible an expression; an
secondly, at the discomfortable occurrence of the suspicio
that while throughout the commercial dealings of the wee
they had denied the propriety of Help, and possibility o
Honesty, the Person whose company they had been now askin
to be blessed with could have no fellowship with cruel peopl
or knaves.

rvices. Therefore the fable of Mars and Venus chosen by Homer, picturing himself as Demo- cus, to sing at the games in the court of cinous. Phæacia is the Homeric island of lantis; an image of noble and wise govern- ent, concealed, (how slightly!) merely by the ange of a short vowel for a long one in the me of its queen; yet misunderstood by all er writers, (even by Horace, in his "pinguis, æaxque"). That fable expresses the perpetual or of men in thinking that grace and dignity n only be reached by the soldier, and never by e artizan; so that commerce and the useful ts have had the honour and beauty taken away, d only the Fraud and Pain left to them, with e lucre. Which is, indeed, one great reason the continual blundering about the offices of vernment with respect to commerce. The gher classes are ashamed to employ themselves it; and though ready enough to fight for (or casionally against) the people,—to preach to em,—or judge them, will not break bread for em; the refined upper servant who has willingly ked after the burnishing of the armoury and lering of the library, not liking to set foot in e larder.

102. Farther still. As Charis becomes Charitas the one side, she becomes—better still—Chara, y, on the other; or rather this is her very ther's milk and the beauty of her childhood; God brings no enduring Love, nor any other od, out of pain; nor out of contention; but t of joy and harmony. And in this sense, man and divine, music and gladness, and the asures of both, come into her name; and Cher

becomes full-vowelled Cheer, and Cheerful; an Chara opens into Choir and Choral.[1]

103. And lastly. As Grace passes into Freedo of action, Charis becomes Eleutheria, or Libe ality; a form of liberty quite curiously an intensely different from the thing usually unde stood by "Liberty" in modern language: indeec much more like what some people would ca slavery: for a Greek always understood, primarily by liberty, deliverance from the law of his ow passions (or from what the Christian writers ca bondage of corruption), and this a complet liberty: not being merely safe from the Sire but also unbound from the mast, and not havin to resist the passion, but making it fawn upo and follow him—(this may be again partly th meaning of the fawning beasts about the Circea cave; so, again, George Herbert—

> Correct thy passions' spite,
> Then may the beasts draw thee to happy light)—

And it is only in such generosity that any ma becomes capable of so governing others as t take true part in any system of national economy Nor is there any other eternal distinction betwee

[1] "τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα ζῶα οὐκ ἔχειν αἴσθησιν τῶν ἐν ταῖς κινήσεσ τάξεων οὐδὲ ἀταξίων, οἷς δὴ ῥυθμὸς ὄνομα καὶ ἁρμονία· ἡμῖν δὲ οὗ εἴπομεν τοὺς θεοὺς (Apollo, the Muses, and Bacchus— the grave Bacchus, that is—ruling the choir of age; o Bacchus restraining; 'sæva *tene*, cum Berecyntio cornu tympana,' etc.) συγχορευτὰς δέδοσθαι, τούτους εἶναι καὶ τοὺ δεδωκότας τὴν ἔμρυθμόν τε καὶ ἐναρμόνιον αἴσθησιν μεθ' ἡδονῆς . . . χορού τε ὠνομακέναι παρὰ τῆς χαρᾶς ἔμφυτον ὄνομα." "Other animal have no perception of order nor of disorder in motion; but fo us, Apollo and Bacchus and the Muses are appointed to mingl in our dances; and these are they who have given us th sense of delight in rhythm and harmony. And the name of choir, choral dance, (we may believe,) came from chara (delight)."—*Laws*, book ii.

e upper and lower classes than this form of erty, Eleutheria, or benignity, in the one, and opposite of slavery, Douleia, or malignity, in e other; the separation of these two orders of n, and the firm government of the lower by e higher, being the first conditions of possible alth and economy in any State,—the Gods ing it no greater gift than the power to dis- n its true freemen, and "malignum spernere lgus."

104. While I have traced the finer and higher vs of this matter for those whom they concern, have also to note the material law—vulgarly pressed in the proverb, "Honesty is the best licy." That proverb is indeed wholly inap- cable to matters of private interest. It is not ie that honesty, as far as material gain is con- ned, profits individuals. A clever and cruel ave will in a mixed society always be richer an an honest person can be. But Honesty is e best "policy," if policy mean practice of ate. For fraud gains nothing in a State. It ly enables the knaves in it to live at the ex- nse of honest people; while there is for every t of fraud, however small, a loss of wealth to e community. Whatever the fraudulent person ins, some other person loses, as fraud produces thing; and there is, *besides*, the loss of the ne and thought spent in accomplishing the ud, and of the strength otherwise obtainable mutual help (not to speak of the fevers of xiety and jealousy in the blood, which are a avy physical loss, as I will show in due time). actically, when the nation is deeply corrupt, eat answers to cheat; every one is in turn

imposed upon, and there is to the body polit
the dead loss of the ingenuity, together with th
incalculable mischief of the injury to each d
frauded person, producing collateral effect une
pectedly. My neighbour sells me bad meat:
sell him in return flawed iron. We neither
us get one atom of pecuniary advantage on th
whole transaction, but we both suffer unexpecte
inconvenience; my men get scurvy, and h
cattle-truck runs off the rails.

105. The examination of this form of Char
must, therefore, lead us into the discussion of th
principles of government in general, and espec
ally of that of the poor by the rich, discoverin
how the Graciousness joined with the Greatnes
or Love with Majestas, is the true Dei Gratis
or Divine Right, of every form and manner
King; *i.e.*, specifically, of the thrones, domination
princedoms, virtues, and powers of the earth:—
of the thrones, stable, or "ruling," literally righ
doing powers ("rex eris, recte si facies"):—
the dominations—lordly, edifying, dominant an
harmonious powers; chiefly domestic, over th
"built thing," domus, or house; and inherentl
twofold, Dominus and Domina; Lord and Lady
—of the Princedoms, pre-eminent, incipient, crea
tive, and demonstrative powers; thus poeti
and mercantile, in the "princeps carmen d
duxisse" and the merchant-prince:—of the Vi
tues or Courages; militant, guiding, or Duca
powers:—and finally of the Strengths, or Force
pure; magistral powers, of the More over th
less, and the forceful and free over the weak an
servile elements of life.

Subject enough for the next paper, involvin

economical" principles of some importance, of hich, for theme, here is a sentence, which I do ot care to translate, for it would sound harsh n English,[1] though, truly, it is one of the tenderest ver uttered by man; which may be meditated ver, or rather *through*, in the meanwhile, by any ne who will take the pains :—

Ἆρ' οὖν, ὥσπερ ἵππος τῷ ἀνεπιστήμονι μὲν ἐγχειροῦντι δὲ ρῆσθαι ζημία ἐστὶν, οὕτω καὶ ἀδελφὸς, ὅταν τις αὐτῷ μὴ πιστάμενος ἐγχειρῇ χρήσθαι, ζημία εστί;

---

[1] [My way now, is to say things plainly, if I can, whether hey sound harsh or not;—this is the translation—"Is it ossible, then, that as a horse is only a mischief to any one who ttempts to use him without knowing how, so also our brother, ; we attempt to use him without knowing how, may be a ischief to us?"]

CHAPTER V

GOVERNMENT

106. It remains for us, as I stated in the cl of the last chapter, to examine first the princip of government in general, and then those of t government of the Poor by the Rich.

The government of a state consists in customs, laws, and councils, and their enfor ments.

I. Customs.

As one person primarily differs from anot by fineness of nature, and, secondarily, by fi ness of training, so also, a polite nation diff from a savage one, first, by the refinement its nature, and secondly by the delicacy of customs.

In the completeness of custom, which is t nation's self-government, there are three stages first, fineness in method of doing or of being called the manner or moral of acts; second firmness in holding such method after adopti so that it shall become a habit in the characte *i.e.*, a constant "having" or "behaving"; a lastly, ethical power in performance and enc rance, which is the skill following on habit, a the ease reached by frequency of right doing.

The sensibility of the nation is indicated by the neness of its customs; its courage, continence, nd self-respect by its persistence in them.

By sensibility I mean its natural perception f beauty, fitness, and rightness; or of what s lovely, decent, and just: faculties dependent uch on race, and the primal signs of fine breedng in man; but cultivable also by education, nd necessarily perishing without it. True educaion has, indeed, no other function than the delopment of these faculties, and of the relative ill. It has been the great error of modern inelligence to mistake science for education. You o not educate a man by telling him what he new not, but by making him what he was not.

And making him what he will remain for ever: or no wash of weeds will bring back the faded urple. And in that dyeing there are two proesses—first, the cleansing and wringing-out, hich is the baptism with water; and then the nfusing of the blue and scarlet colours, gentleess and justice, which is the baptism with fire.

107.[1] The customs and manners of a sensitive nd highly-trained race are always Vital: that is o say, they are orderly manifestations of intense ife, like the habitual action of the fingers of a nusician. The customs and manners of a vile nd rude race, on the contrary, are conditions of ecay: they are not, properly speaking, habits, ut incrustations; not restraints, or forms, of ife; but gangrenes, noisome, and the beginnings f death.

[1] [Think over this paragraph carefully; it should have been uch expanded to be quite intelligible; but it contains all at I want it to contain.]

And generally, so far as custom attaches its to indolence instead of action, and to prejud instead of perception, it takes this deadly ch acter, so that thus

> Custom hangs upon us with a weight
> Heavy as frost, and deep almost as life.

But that weight, if it becomes impetus, (liv instead of dead weight) is just what gives va to custom, when it works *with* life, instead against it.

108. The high ethical training of a nation i plies perfect Grace, Pitifulness, and Peace; it irreconcilably inconsistent with filthy or mecha cal employments,—with the desire of money and with mental states of anxiety, jealousy, indifference to pain. The present insensibility the upper classes of Europe to the surround aspects of suffering, uncleanness, and crime, bi them not only into one responsibility with sin, but into one dishonour with the foulne which rot at their thresholds. The crimes da recorded in the police-courts of London and Pa (and much more those which are *un*recorded) a disgrace to the whole body politic;[1] they a as in the body natural, stains of disease or face of delicate skin, making the delicacy it frightful. Similarly, the filth and poverty p mitted or ignored in the midst of us are as honourable to the whole social body, as in

[1] "The ordinary brute, who flourishes in the very centr ornate life, tells us of unknown depths on the verge of wh we totter, being bound to thank our stars every day we that there is not a general outbreak, and a revolt from yoke of civilisation."—*Times* leader, Dec. 25, 1862. Admit that our stars are to be thanked for our safety, whom are to thank for the danger?

dy natural it is to wash the face, but leave e hands and feet foul. Christ's way is the only e one: begin at the feet; the face will take e of itself.

109. Yet, since necessarily, in the frame of a tion, nothing but the head can be of gold, and e feet, for the work they have to do, must be ct of iron, part of clay;—foul or mechanical rk is always reduced by a noble race to the nimum in quantity; and, even then, performed l endured, not without sense of degradation, a fine temper is wounded by the sight of the er offices of the body. The highest conditions human society reached hitherto have cast h work to slaves; but supposing slavery of olitically defined kind to be done away with, chanical and foul employment must, in all hly organised states, take the aspect either of nishment or probation. All criminals should once be set to the most dangerous and painful ms of it, especially to work in mines and at naces,[1] so as to relieve the innocent population

[1] Our politicians, even the best of them, regard only the ress caused by the *failure* of mechanical labour. The radation caused by its excess is a far more serious subject hought, and of future fear. I shall examine this part of subject at length hereafter. There can hardly be any bt, at present, cast on the truth of the above passages, as he great thinkers are unanimous on the matter. Plato's ds are terrific in their scorn and pity whenever he touches the mechanical arts. He calls the men employed in n not even human, but partially and diminutively human, θρωπίσκοι," and opposes such work to noble occupations, merely as prison is opposed to freedom, but as a convict's onoured prison is to the temple (escape from them being that of a criminal to the sanctuary); and the destruction ed by them being of soul no less than body.—*Rep.* vi. 9. npare *Laws*, v. 11. Xenophon dwells on the evil of occu- on" at the furnace, and especially their "ἀσχολία, want of

as far as possible: of merely rough (not mech
cal) manual labour, especially agricultural, *a l
portion should be done by the upper classes
bodily health, and sufficient contrast and re
for the mental functions, being unattainable wit
it;* what necessarily inferior labour remains
be done, as especially in manufactures, sho
and always will, when the relations of soci
are reverent and harmonious, fall to the lot
those who, for the time, are fit for nothing bet
For as, whatever the perfectness of the edu
tional system, there must remain infinite dif
ences between the natures and capacities of m
and these differing natures are generally rangea
under the two qualities of lordly, (or tend

leisure."—*Econ.* iv. 3. (Modern England, with all its prid
education, has lost that first sense of the word "school";
till it recover that, it will find no other rightly.) His word
the harm to the soul is to "break" it, as we say of the he
—*Econ.* vi. 5. And herein, also, is the root of the scorn, ot
wise apparently most strange and cruel, with which Hor
Dante, and Shakspeare always speak of the populace; fo
is entirely true that, in great states, the lower orders are
by nature as well as by task, being precisely that part of
commonwealth which has been thrust down for its coarse
or unworthiness (by coarseness I mean especially insensib
and irreverence—the "profane" of Horace); and when
ceases to be so, and the corruption and profanity are in
higher instead of the lower orders, there arises, first help
confusion; then, if the lower classes deserve power, ens
swift revolution, and they get it; but if neither the popu
nor their rulers deserve it, there follows mere darkness
dissolution, till, out of the putrid elements, some new capa
of order arises, like grass on a grave; if not, there is no m
hope, nor shadow of turning, for that nation. Atropos
her way with it.

So that the law of national health is like that of a great l
or sea, in perfect but slow circulation, letting the dregs
continually to the lowest place, and the clear water rise;
so as that there shall be no neglect of the lower orders,
perfect supervision and sympathy, so that if one member suf
all members shall suffer with it.

wards rule, construction, and harmony), and
rvile (or tending towards misrule, destruction,
d discord); and, since the lordly part is only
a state of profitableness while ruling, and the
rvile only in a state of redeemableness while
rving, the whole health of the state depends on
e manifest separation of these two elements of
mind; for, if the servile part be not separated
d rendered visible in service, it mixes with,
d corrupts, the entire body of the state; and
the lordly part be not distinguished, and set
rule, it is crushed and lost, being turned to
account, so that the rarest qualities of the
tion are all given to it in vain.[1]

II. Laws.

110. These are the definitions and bonds of
stom, or of what the nation desires should
come custom.

Law is either archic,[2] (of direction), meristic,
f division), or critic, (of judgment).

[1] "ὀλίγης, καὶ ἄλλως γιγνομένης." (Little, and that little born
vain.) The bitter sentence never was so true as at this day.
[2] [This following note is a mere cluster of memoranda, but
keep it for reference.] Thetic, or Thesmic, would perhaps
a better term than archic; but liable to be confused with
ne which we shall want relating to Theoria. The adminis-
tors of the three great divisions of law are severally Archons,
erists, and Dicasts. The Archons are the true princes, or
ginners of things; or leaders (as of an orchestra). The
erists are properly the Domini, or Lords of houses and
tions. The Dicasts, properly, the judges, and that with
ympian justice, which reaches to heaven and hell. The
lation of archic law is ἁμαρτία (error), πτῶμα (failure), or
ημμέλεια (discord). The violation of meristic law is ἀνομία
iquity). The violation of critic law is ἀδικια (injury). Iniquity
the central generic term; for all law is *fatal;* it is the division
men of their fate; as the fold of their pasture, it is νόμος; as
assigning of their portion, μοῖρα.

Archic law is that of appointment and prec
it defines what is and is not to be *done.*

Meristic law is that of balance and distributi
it defines what is and is not to be *possessed.*

Critic law is that of discernment and awa
it defines what is and is not to be *suffered.*

111. A. Archic Law. If we choose to u
the laws of precept and distribution under
head of "statutes," all law is simply eithe
statute or judgment; that is, first the establ
ment of ordinance, and, secondly, the assignm
of the reward, or penalty, due to its observa
or violation.

To some extent these two forms of law n
be associated, and, with every ordinance,
penalty of disobedience to it be also determi
But since the degrees and guilt of disobedie
vary, the determination of due reward and pun
ment must be modified by discernment of spe
fact, which is peculiarly the office of the ju
as distinguished from that of the lawgiver
law-sustainer, or king; not but that the
offices are always theoretically, and in ea
stages, or limited numbers, of society, are of
practically, united in the same person or perso

112. Also, it is necessary to keep clearly
view the distinction between these two kinds
law, because the possible range of law is wi
in proportion to their separation. There
many points of conduct respecting which
nation may wisely express its will by a writ
precept or resolve, yet not enforce it by penalty

[1] [This is the only sentence which, in revising these ess
I am now inclined to question; but the point is one of extr

ıd the expedient degree of penalty is always ıite a separate consideration from the expedience the statute; for the statute may often be ɛtter enforced by mercy than severity, and is so easier in the bearing, and less likely to be ɔrogated. Farther, laws of precept have re-rence especially to youth, and concern them-lves with training; but laws of judgment to anhood, and concern themselves with remedy ıd reward. There is a highly curious feeling in ıe English mind against educational law: we ink no man's liberty should be interfered with ll he has done irrevocable wrong; whereas it then just too late for the only gracious and ngly interference, which is to hinder him from ɔing it. Make your educational laws strict, and ɔur criminal ones may be gentle; but, leave ɔuth its liberty, and you will have to dig dungeons r age. And it is good for a man that he "wear ıe yoke in his youth": for the reins may then ɛ of silken thread; and with sweet chime of lver bells at the bridle; but, for the captivity age, you must forge the iron fetter, and cast ıe passing bell.

113. Since no law can be, in a final or true nse, established, but by right, (all unjust laws volving the ultimate necessity of their own ɔrogation), the law-giving can only become a w-sustaining power in so far as it is Royal, or right doing";—in so far, that is, as it rules,

fficulty. There might be a law, for instance, of curfew, that ndles should be put out, unless for necessary service, at such ıd such an hour, the idea of "necessary service" being quite definable, and no penalty possible; yet there would be a stinct consciousness of illegal conduct in young ladies' minds ıo danced by candlelight till dawn.]

not mis-rules, and orders, not dis-orders, th things submitted to it. Throned on this roc of justice, the kingly power becomes establishe and establishing; "θεῖος," or divine, and, ther fore, it is literally true that no ruler can err, s long as he is a ruler, or ἄρχων οὐδεὶς ἁμαρτάν· τότε ὅταν ἄρχων ᾖ; perverted by careless though which has cost the world somewhat, into—"th king can do no wrong."

114. B. MERISTIC LAW,[1] or that of the tenur of property, first determines what every ind vidual possesses by right, and secures it to him and what he possesses by wrong, and deprive him of it. But it has a far higher provisor function: it determines what every man *shoul* possess, and puts it within his reach on du conditions; and what he should *not* possess, an puts this out of his reach, conclusively.

115. Every article of human wealth has certai conditions attached to its merited possession when these are unobserved, possession become rapine. And the object of meristic law is no only to secure to every man his rightful shar (the share, that is, which he has worked fo produced, or received by gift from a rightfu owner), but to enforce the due conditions of pos session, as far as law may conveniently reach for instance, that land shall not be wantonl allowed to run to waste, that streams shall no be poisoned by the persons through whose proper ties they pass, nor air be rendered unwholesom

[1] [Read this and the next paragraph with attention; the contain clear statements, which I cannot mend, of things mos necessary.]

ond given limits. Laws of this kind exist eady in rudimentary degree, but need large velopment: the just laws respecting the posion of works of art have not hitherto been much as conceived, and the daily loss of ional wealth, and of its use, in this respect, quite incalculable. And these laws need reion quite as much respecting property in ional as in private hands. For instance: the blic are under a vague impression that, beuse they have paid for the contents of the itish Museum, every one has an equal right see and to handle them. But the public have ilarly paid for the contents of Woolwich enal; yet do not expect free access to it, or adling of its contents. The British Museum neither a free circulating library, nor a free hool: it is a place for the safe preservation, d exhibition on due occasion, of unique books, ique objects of natural history, and unique rks of art; its books can no more be used by erybody than its coins can be handled, or its tues cast. There ought to be free libraries in ery quarter of London, with large and comete reading-rooms attached; so also free eduional museums should be open in every quarter London, all day long, and till late at night, ll lighted, well catalogued, and rich in contents th of art and natural history. But neither e British Museum nor National Gallery is a hool; they are *treasuries;* and both should be verely restricted in access and in use. Unless me order of this kind is made, and that soon, r the MSS. department of the Museum, (its perintendents have sorrowfully told me this,

and repeatedly,) the best MSS. in the collectic will be destroyed, irretrievably, by the carele and continual handling to which they are no subjected.

Finally, in certain conditions of a nation progress, laws limiting accumulation of any kin of property may be found expedient.

116. C. Critic Law determines questions c injury, and assigns due rewards and punishment to conduct.

Two curious economical questions arise laterall with respect to this branch of law, namely, th cost of crime, and the cost of judgment. Th cost of crime is endured by nations ignorantly that expense being nowhere stated in thei budgets; the cost of judgment, patiently, (pro vided only it can be had pure for the money) because the science, or perhaps we ought rathe to say the art, of law, is felt to found a nobl profession and discipline; so that civilised nation are usually glad that a number of persons shoulc be supported by exercise in oratory and analysis But it has not yet been calculated what th practical value might have been, in other direc tions, of the intelligence now occupied in deciding through courses of years, what might have beer decided as justly, had the date of judgment beer fixed, in as many hours. Imagine one half o the funds which any great nation devotes tc dispute by law, applied to the determination o physical questions in medicine, agriculture, and theoretic science; and calculate the probable results within the next ten years!

I say nothing yet of the more deadly, more

nentable loss, involved in the use of purchased, stead of personal, justice—"ἐπακτῷ παρ' ἄλλων ἀπορίᾳ οἰκείων."

117. In order to true analysis of critic law, we ust understand the real meaning of the word injury."

We commonly understand by it, any kind of rm done by one man to another; but we do t define the idea of harm: sometimes we limit to the harm which the sufferer is conscious of; ıereas much the worst injuries are those he is conscious of; and, at other times, we limit e idea to violence, or restraint; whereas much e worse forms of injury are to be accomplished indolence, and the withdrawal of restraint.

118. "Injury" is then simply the refusal, or olation of, any man's right or claim upon his lows: which claim, much talked of in modern nes, under the term "right," is mainly re- vable into two branches: a man's claim not be hindered from doing what he should; and claim to be hindered from doing what he ould not; these two forms of hindrance being ensified by reward, help, and fortune, or Fors, one side, and by punishment, impediment, and en final arrest, or Mors, on the other.

119. Now, in order to a man's obtaining these o rights, it is clearly needful that the *worth* of n should be approximately known; as well as e *want* of worth, which has, unhappily, been ually the principal subject of study for critic v, careful hitherto only to mark degrees of -merit, instead of merit;—assigning, indeed, the *De*ficiencies (not always, alas! even to ese) just estimate, fine, or penalty; but to the

*Ef*ficiencies, on the other side, which are by muc
the more interesting, as well as the only profi
able part of its subject, assigning neither estima
nor aid.

120. Now, it is in this higher and perfe
function of critic law, *en*abling instead of *di*
abling, that it becomes truly Kingly, instea
of Draconic: (what Providence gave the grea
wrathful legislator his name?): that is, it b
comes the law of man and of life, instead of th
law of the worm and of death—both of thes
laws being set in changeless poise one again
another, and the enforcement of both being th
eternal function of the lawgiver, and true clai
of every living soul: such claim being indee
strong to be mercifully hindered, and even,
need be, abolished, when longer existence mea
only deeper destruction, but stronger still to b
mercifully helped, and recreated, when long
existence and new creation mean nobler life. S
that reward and punishment will be found to r
solve themselves mainly [1] into help and hindrance
and these again will issue naturally from tru
recognition of deserving, and the just reverenc
and just wrath which follow instinctively on suc
recognition.

121. I say, "follow," but, in reality, they a
part of the recognition. Reverence is as instinc
tive as anger;—both of them instant on tru
vision: it is sight and understanding that w
have to teach, and these *are* reverence. Make

[1] [Mainly; not altogether. Conclusive reward of hig
virtue is loving and crowning, not helping; and conclusiv
punishment of deep vice is hating and crushing, not merel
hindering.]

nan perceive worth, and in its reflection he sees is own relative unworth, and worships thereupon nevitably, not with stiff courtesy, but rejoicingly, passionately, and, best of all, *restfully:* for the nner capacity of awe and love is infinite in nan; and only in finding these, can we find peace. And the common insolences and petulances of he people, and their talk of equality, are not rreverence in them in the least, but mere blind- ess, stupefaction, and fog in the brains,[1] the irst sign of any cleansing away of which is, that hey gain some power of discerning, and some patience in submitting to, their true counsellors nd governors. In the mode of such discernment consists the real "constitution" of the state, nore than in the titles or offices of the discerned erson; for it is no matter, save in degree of nischief, to what office a man is appointed, if he annot fulfil it.

122. III. Government by Council.

This is the determination, by living authority, f the national conduct to be observed under existing circumstances; and the modification or nlargement, abrogation or enforcement, of the ode of national law according to present needs r purposes. This government is necessarily lways by council, for though the authority of t may be vested in one person, that person annot form any opinion on a matter of public

1 Compare Chaucer's "villany" (clownishness).

Full foul and chorlishe seemed she,
And eke villanous for to be,
And little coulde of norture
To worship any creature.

interest but by (voluntarily or involuntarily) submitting himself to the influence of others.

This government is always twofold—visible and invisible.

The visible government is that which nominally carries on the national business; determines its foreign relations, raises taxes, levies soldiers, orders war or peace, and otherwise becomes the arbiter of the national fortune. The invisible government is that exercised by all energetic and intelligent men, each in his sphere, regulating the inner will and secret ways of the people, essentially forming its character, and preparing its fate.

Visible governments are the toys of some nations, the diseases of others, the harness of some, the burdens of more, the necessity of all. Sometimes their career is quite distinct from that of the people, and to write it, as the national history, is as if one should number the accidents which befall a man's weapons and wardrobe, and call the list his biography. Nevertheless, a truly noble and wise nation necessarily has a noble and wise visible government, for its wisdom issues in that conclusively.

123. Visible governments are, in their agencies, capable of three pure forms, and of no more than three.

They are either monarchies, where the authority is vested in one person; oligarchies, when it is vested in a minority; or democracies, when vested in a majority.

But these three forms are not only, in practice, variously limited and combined, but capable of infinite difference in character and use, receiving

pecific names according to their variations; hich names, being nowise agreed upon, nor onsistently used, either in thought or writing, o man can at present tell, in speaking of any ind of government, whether he is understood; or, in hearing, whether he understands. Thus e usually call a just government by one person monarchy, and an unjust and cruel one, a yranny: this might be reasonable if it had eference to the divinity of true government; ut to limit the term "oligarchy" to government y a few rich people, and to call government by few wise or noble people "aristocracy," evi-ently is absurd, unless it were proved that rich eople never could be wise, or noble people rich; nd farther absurd, because there are other dis-inctions in character, as well as riches or wisdom greater purity of race, or strength of purpose, or instance), which may give the power of govern-ent to the few. So that if we had to give ames to every group or kind of minority, we hould have verbiage enough. But there is only ne right name—"oligarchy."

124. So also the terms "republic" and "demo-racy"[1] are confused, especially in modern use; nd both of them are liable to every sort of isconception. A republic means, properly, a olity in which the state, with its all, is at every an's service, and every man, with his all, at he state's service—(people are apt to lose sight f the last condition,) but its government may

[1] [I leave this paragraph, in every syllable, as it was written, uring the rage of the American war; it was meant to refer, owever, chiefly to the Northerns: what modifications its hot nd partial terms require I will give in another place: let it and here as it stood.]

nevertheless be oligarchic (consular, or decem viral, for instance), or monarchic (dictatorial But a democracy means a state in which th government rests directly with the majority o the citizens. And both these conditions hav been judged only by such accidents and aspect of them as each of us has had experience of and sometimes both have been confused wit anarchy, as it is the fashion at present to tal of the "failure of republican institutions i America," when there has never yet been i America any such thing as an institution, bu only defiance of institution; neither any suc thing as a *res-publica*, but only a multitudinou *res-privata;* every man for himself. It is no republicanism which fails now in America; it i your model science of political economy, brough to its perfect practice. There you may see com petition, and the "law of demand and supply" (especially in paper), in beautiful and unhindered operation.[1] Lust of wealth, and trust in it vulgar faith in magnitude and multitude, instead of nobleness; besides that faith natural to back woods-men—"lucum ligna"[2]—perpetual self contemplation issuing in passionate vanity; tota ignorance of the finer and higher arts, and of al that they teach and bestow; and the discontent of energetic minds unoccupied, frantic with hope

[1] "Supply and demand! Alas! for what noble work wa there ever any audible 'demand' in that poor sense?" (*Past and Present*). Nay, the demand is not loud, even for ignoble work. See "Average Earnings of Betty Taylor," in *Times* o 4th February of this year [1863]: "Worked from Monday morning at 8 A.M. to Friday night at 5.30 P.M. for 1*s.* 5½*d.*"—*Laissez faire.* [This kind of slavery finds no Abolitionists tha I hear of.]

[2] ["That the sacred grove is nothing but logs."]

f uncomprehended change, and progress they now not whither;[1]—these are the things that ave "failed" in America; and yet not altoether failed—it is not collapse, but collision; ıe greatest railroad accident on record, with fire ıught from the furnace, and Catiline's quenching non aquâ, sed ruinâ."[2] But I see not, in any f our talk of them, justice enough done to their ratic strength of purpose, nor any estimate ıken of the strength of endurance of domestic orrow, in what their women and children suppose righteous cause. And out of that endurance nd suffering, its own fruit will be born with me; [*not* abolition of slavery, however. See 130] and Carlyle's prophecy of them (June, 850), as it has now come true in the first clause, ill, in the last:—

"America, too, will find that caucuses, divisionsts, stump-oratory, and speeches to Buncombe ill not carry men to the immortal gods; that ıe Washington Congress, and constitutional

[1] Ames, by report of Waldo Emerson, says "that a onarchy is a merchantman, which sails well, but will sometmes strike on a rock, and go to the bottom; whilst a republic a raft, which would never sink, but then your feet are always the water." Yes, that is comfortable; and though your ft cannot sink (being too worthless for that), it may go to ieces, I suppose, when the four winds (your only pilots) steer mpetitively from its four corners, and carry it, ὡς ὀπωρινὸς ορέης φορέησιν ἀκάνθας, and then more than your feet will be in ıe water.

[2] ["Not with water, but with ruin." The worst ruin being ıat which the Americans chiefly boast of. They sent all their est and honestest youths, Harvard University men and the ke, to that accursed war; got them nearly all shot; wrote retty biographies (to the ages of 17, 18, 19) and epitaphs for ıem; and so, having washed all the salt out of the nation ı blood, left themselves to putrefaction, and the morality of ſew York.]

battle of Kilkenny cats is, there as here, naug
for such objects; quite incompetent for such
and, in fine, that said sublime constitution
arrangement will require to be (with terrib
throes, and travail such as few expect yet) r
modelled, abridged, extended, suppressed, tor
asunder, put together again;—not without hero
labour and effort, quite other than that of th
Stump-Orator and the Revival Preacher, one day.

125.[1] Understand, then, once for all, that n
form of government, provided it be a governmen
at all, is, as such, to be either condemned c
praised, or contested for in anywise, but by fool
But all forms of government are good just s
far as they attain this one vital necessity c
policy—*that the wise and kind, few or many, sha
govern the unwise and unkind;* and they are evi
so far as they miss of this, or reverse it. No
does the form, in any case, signify one whit, bu
its *firmness*, and adaptation to the need; for i
there be many foolish persons in a state, an
few wise, then it is good that the few govern
and if there be many wise, and few foolish, the
it is good that the many govern; and if many
be wise, yet one wiser, then it is good that on
should govern; and so on. Thus, we may have
"the ant's republic, and the realm of bees," both
good in their kind; one for groping, and the
other for building; and nobler still, for flying
—the Ducal monarchy[2] of those

> Intelligent of seasons, that set forth
> The aery caravan, high over seas."

---

[1] [This paragraph contains the gist of all that precede.]

[2] [Whenever you are puzzled by any apparently mistaken use of words in these essays, take your dictionary, remembering

126. Nor need we want examples, among the ferior creatures, of dissoluteness, as well as soluteness, in government. I once saw democ-cy finely illustrated by the beetles of North vitzerland, who by universal suffrage, and elytric clamation, one May twilight, carried it, that ey would fly over the Lake of Zug; and flew *ort*, to the great disfigurement of the Lake of g,—Κανθάρου λιμήν—over some leagues square, d to the close of the cockchafer democracy that year. Then, for tyranny, the old fable the frogs and the stork finely touches one m of it; but truth will image it more closely an fable, for tyranny is not complete when it only over the idle, but when it is over the orious and the blind. This description of licans and climbing perch, which I find quoted one of our popular natural histories, out of Emerson Tennent's *Ceylon*, comes as near as y be to the true image of the thing:—

'Heavy rains came on, and as we stood on high ground, we observed a pelican on the rgin of the shallow pool gorging himself; our ople went towards him, and raised a cry of ish, fish!' We hurried down, and found mbers of fish struggling upward through the ss, in the rills formed by the trickling of the n. There was scarcely water to cover them, t nevertheless they made rapid progress up bank, on which our followers collected about baskets of them. They were forcing their

d to fix terms, as well as principles. A Duke is a "dux" "leader"; the flying wedge of cranes is under a "ducal narch"—a very different personage from a queen-bee. The etians, with a beautiful instinct, gave the name to their g of the Sea.]

way up the knoll, and had they not been int
rupted, first by the pelican, and afterwards
ourselves, they would in a few minutes ha
gained the highest point, and descended on t
other side into a pool which formed anoth
portion of the tank. In going this distan
however, they must have used muscular exerti
enough to have taken them half a mile on lev
ground; for at these places all the cattle a
wild animals of the neighbourhood had latte
come to drink, so that the surface was ever
where indented with footmarks, in addition
the cracks in the surrounding baked mud, in
which the fish tumbled in their progress.
those holes, which were deep, and the sid
perpendicular, they remained to die, and we
carried off by kites and crows." [1]

127. But whether governments be bad or goo
one general disadvantage seems to attach
them in modern times—that they are all *costl*
This, however, is not essentially the fault of t
governments. If nations choose to play at wa
they will always find their governments wi
ing to lead the game, and soon coming und
that term of Aristophanes, "κάπηλοι ἀσπίδων
"shield-sellers." And when (πῆμ' ἐπὶ πήματι
the shields take the form of iron ships, wi

[1] [This is a perfect picture of the French under the tyranni
of their Pelican Kings, before the Revolution. But they mu
find other than Pelican Kings—or rather, Pelican Kings of t
Divine brood, that feed their children, and with their be
blood.]

[2] [Read carefully, from this point; because here begins t
statement of things requiring to be done, which I am now r
trying to make definite in *Fors Clavigera*.]

[3] ["Evil on the top of Evil." Delphic oracle, meaning ir
on the anvil.]

paratus "for defence against liquid fire,"—as see by latest accounts they are now arranging e decks in English dockyards—they become stly biers enough for the grey convoy of chief- burner waves, wreathed with funereal foam, to ar back the dead upon; the massy shoulders those corpse-bearers being intended for quite her work, and to bear the living, and food for e living, if we would let them.

128. Nor have we the least right to complain our governments being expensive, so long as set the government *to do precisely the work ich brings no return.* If our present doctrines political economy be just, let us trust them the utmost; take that war business out of e government's hands, and test therein the inciples of supply and demand. Let our future ges of Sebastopol be done by contract—no pture, no pay—(I admit that things might metimes go better so); and let us sell the mmands of our prospective battles, with our arages, to the lowest bidder; so may we have eap victories, and divinity. On the other hand, we have so much suspicion of our science that dare not trust it on military or spiritual siness, would it not be but reasonable to try ether some authoritative handling may not sper in matters utilitarian? If we were to our governments to do useful things instead mischievous, possibly even the apparatus itself ght in time come to be less costly. The achine, applied to the building of the house, ght perhaps pay, when it seems not to pay, plied to pulling it down. If we made in our ckyards ships to carry timber and coals,

instead of cannon, and with provision for th brightening of domestic solid culinary fire, in stead of for the scattering of liquid hostile fir it might have some effect on the taxes. C suppose that we tried the experiment on lan instead of water carriage; already the gover ment, not unapproved, carries letters and parce for us; larger packages may in time follow;- even general merchandise—why not, at last, ou selves? Had the money spent in local mistak and vain private litigation, on the railroads England, been laid out, instead, under prop government restraint, on really useful railroa work, and had no absurd expense been incurre in ornamenting stations, we might already hav had,—what ultimately it will be found we mu have,—quadruple rails, two for passengers, an two for traffic, on every great line; and w might have been carried in swift safety, an watched and warded by well-paid pointsmen, f half the present fares. [For, of course, a railroa company is merely an association of turnpik keepers, who make the tolls as high as they ca not to mend the roads with, but to pocket. Th public will in time discover this, and do away wit turnpikes on railroads, as on all other public-ways

129. Suppose it should thus turn out, finally that a true government set to true work, instea of being a costly engine, was a paying one? tha your government, rightly organised, instead c itself subsisting by an income-tax, would produc its subjects some subsistence in the shape of a income dividend?—police, and judges duly pai besides, only with less work than the state a present provides for them.

A true government set to true work!—Not
ily to be imagined, still less obtained; but
t beyond human hope or ingenuity. Only you
l have to alter your election systems somewhat,
st. Not by universal suffrage, nor by votes
rchaseable with beer, is such government to
had. That is to say, not by universal *equal*
frage. Every man upwards of twenty, who
l been convicted of no legal crime, should have
say in this matter; but afterwards a louder
ce, as he grows older, and approves himself
er. If he has one vote at twenty, he should
ve two at thirty, four at forty, ten at fifty.
r every single vote which he has with an
ome of a hundred a year, he should have ten
h an income of a thousand, (provided you first
to it that wealth is, as nature intended it to
the reward of sagacity and industry—not of
od luck in a scramble or a lottery). For every
gle vote which he had as subordinate in any
siness, he should have two when he became a
ster; and every office and authority nation-
y bestowed, implying trustworthiness and in-
ect, should have its known proportional
nber of votes attached to it. But into the
ail and working of a true system in these
tters we cannot now enter; we are concerned
yet with definitions only, and statements of
t principles, which will be established now
ficiently for our purposes when we have
mined the nature of that form of govern-
nt last on the list in § 105,—the pure
lagistral," exciting at present its full share
public notice, under its ambiguous title of
avery."

130. I have not, however, been able to ascerta in definite terms, from the declaimers again slavery, what they understand by it. If the mean only the imprisonment or compulsion one person by another, such imprisonment compulsion being in many cases highly exp dient, slavery, so defined, would be no evil itself, but only in its abuse; that is, whe men are slaves, who should not be, or master who should not be, or even the fittest cha acters for either state, placed in it under co ditions which should not be. It is not, f instance, a necessary condition of slavery, n a desirable one, that parents should be separate from children, or husbands from wives; b the institution of war, against which people d claim with less violence, effects such separ tions,—not unfrequently in a very permane manner. To press a sailor, seize a white yout by conscription for a soldier, or carry off black one for a labourer, may all be right ac or all wrong ones, according to needs and circu stances. It is wrong to scourge a man unnece sarily. So it is to shoot him. Both must done on occasion; and it is better and kind to flog a man to his work, than to leave hi idle till he robs, and flog him afterwards. T essential thing for all creatures is to be ma to do right; how they are made to do it—b pleasant promises, or hard necessities, pathet oratory, or the whip—is comparatively immat rial.[1] To be deceived is perhaps as incompatib

[1] [Permit me to enforce and reinforce this statement, with earnestness. It is the sum of what needs most to be und stood, in the matter of education.]

th human dignity as to be whipped; and I spect the last method to be not the worst, the help of many individuals. The Jewish tion throve under it, in the hand of a narch reputed not unwise; it is only the ange of whip for scorpion which is inexpedient; d that change is as likely to come to pass on e side of license as of law. For the true scor- on whips are those of the nation's pleasant es, which are to it as St. John's locusts— wn on the head, ravin in the mouth, and ng in the tail. If it will not bear the rule of hena and Apollo, who shepherd without smit- g (οὐ πληγῇ νέμοντες), Athena at last calls more in the corners of the streets; and then llows the rule of Tisiphone, who smites without epherding.

131. If, however, by slavery, instead of absolute mpulsion, is meant *the purchase, by money, of e right of compulsion*, such purchase is neces- rily made whenever a portion of any territory transferred, for money, from one monarch to nother: which has happened frequently enough history, without its being supposed that the habitants of the districts so transferred became erefore slaves. In this, as in the former case, ie dispute seems about the fashion of the thing, ther than the fact of it. There are two rocks mid-sea, on each of which, neglected equally y instructive and commercial powers, a handful inhabitants live as they may Two merchants id for the two properties, but not in the same rms. One bids for the people, buys *them*, and ts them to work, under pain of scourge; the ther bids for the rock, buys *it*, and throws the

inhabitants into the sea. The former is tl
American, the latter the English method,
slavery; much is to be said for, and somethin
against, both, which I hope to say in due tin
and place.[1]

132. If, however, slavery mean not merely tl
purchase of the right of compulsion, but *t*
purchase of the body and soul of the creature itse
for money, it is not, I think, among the blac
races that purchases of this kind are most e
tensively made, or that separate souls of a fir
make fetch the highest price. This branch of th
inquiry we shall have occasion also to follow ou
at some length, for in the worst instances of th
selling of souls, we are apt to get, when we as
if the sale is valid, only Pyrrhon's answer [2]-
"None can know."

133. The fact is that slavery is not a politic
institution at all, *but an inherent, natural, an*
eternal inheritance of a large portion of the huma
race—to whom, the more you give of their ow
free will, the more slaves they will make them
selves. In common parlance, we idly confus
captivity with slavery, and are always thinkin
of the difference between pine-trunks (Ariel i
the pine), and cowslip-bells ("in the cowslip-be
I lie"), or between carrying wood and drinkin
(Caliban's slavery and freedom), instead of notin
the far more serious differences between Ariel an
Caliban themselves, and the means by which, prac
tically, that difference may be brought about c
diminished.

[1] [A pregnant paragraph, meant against English and Scotc
landlords who drive their people off the land.]
[2] [In Lucian's dialogue, "The sale of lives."]

134.[1] Plato's slave, in the *Polity*, who, well essed and washed, aspires to the hand of his aster's daughter, corresponds curiously to Cali- n attacking Prospero's cell; and there is an dercurrent of meaning throughout, in the *mpest* as well as in the *Merchant of Venice;* erring in this case to government, as in that commerce. Miranda[2] ("the wonderful," so dressed first by Ferdinand, "Oh, you wonder!") rresponds to Homer's Arete: Ariel and Caliban e respectively the spirits of faithful and imagina- e labour, opposed to rebellious, hurtful, and vish labour. Prospero ("for hope"), a true

[I raise this analysis of the *Tempest* into my text; but it is hing but a hurried note, which I may never have time to and. I have retouched it here and there a little, however.]

Of Shakspeare's names I will afterwards speak at more gth: they are curiously—often barbarously—much by Pro- ence,—but assuredly not without Shakspeare's cunning pose—mixed out of the various traditions he confusedly pted, and languages which he imperfectly knew. Three the clearest in meaning have been already noticed. Des- nona, "δυσδαιμονία," "miserable fortune," is also plain ugh. Othello is, I believe, "the careful;" all the calamity the tragedy arising from the single flaw and error in his gnificently collected strength. Ophelia, "serviceableness," true lost wife of Hamlet, is marked as having a Greek name that of her brother, Laertes; and its signification is once ex- sitely alluded to in that brother's last word of her, where her itle preciousness is opposed to the uselessness of the churlish gy—"A *ministering* angel shall my sister be, when thou liest wling." Hamlet is, I believe, connected in some way with omely," the entire event of the tragedy turning on betrayal ome duty. Hermione (ἕρμα), "pillar-like" (ἢ εἶδος ἔχε χρυσέης ροδίτης). Titania (τιτήνη), "the queen;" Benedict and atrice, "blessed and blessing;" Valentine and Proteus, en- ing (or strong), (valens), and changeful. Iago and Iachimo e evidently the same root—probably the Spanish Iago, ob, "the supplanter." Leonatus, and other such names, interpreted, or played with, in the plays themselves. For interpretation of Sycorax, and reference to her raven's ther, I am indebted to Mr. John R. Wise.

governor, is opposed to Sycorax, the mother c slavery, her name "Swine-raven" indicating a once brutality and deathfulness; hence the line–

"As wicked dew as e'er my mother brushed wit *raven's feather*,"—etc.

For all these dreams of Shakspeare, as those c true and strong men must be, are "*φαντάσματ θεῖα, καὶ σκιαὶ τῶν ὄντων*"—divine phantasms and shadows of things that are. We hardly te our children, willingly, a fable with no purport i it; yet we think God sends His best messenger only to sing fairy tales to us, fond and empty The *Tempest* is just like a grotesque in a ric missal, "clasped where paynims pray." Ariel the spirit of generous and free-hearted service, i early stages of human society oppressed by ignor ance and wild tyranny: "venting groans as fas as mill-wheels strike;" in shipwreck of state dreadful; so that "all but mariners plunge in th brine, and quit the vessel, then all afire wit *me*," yet having in itself the will and sweetnes of truest peace, whence that is especially calle "Ariel's" song, "Come unto these yellow sand and there, *take hands*, courtesied when you hav and kissed, the wild waves whist:" (mind, it "cortesia," not "curtsey,") and read "quiet for "whist," if you want the full sense. The you may indeed foot it featly, and sweet spiri bear the burden for you—with watch in th night, and call in early morning. The *vis viva* i elemental transformation follows—"Full fathom five thy father lies, of his bones are coral made. Then, giving rest *after* labour, it "fetches dew fro the still vext Bermoöthes," and, "with a char

ined to their suffered labour," leaves men asleep.
atching away the feast of the cruel, it seems
them as a harpy; followed by the utterly vile,
o cannot see it in any shape, but to whom
is the picture of nobody, it still gives shrill
rmony to their false and mocking catch,
Thought is free;" but leads them into briars
d foul places, and at last hollas the hounds
on them. Minister of fate against the great
minal, it joins itself with the "incensed seas
d shores"—the sword that layeth at it cannot
ld, and may "with bemocked-at stabs as soon
l the still-closing waters, as diminish one dowle
at is in its plume." As the guide and aid of
ıe love, it is always called by Prospero "fine"
ıe French "fine," not the English), or "deli-
te"—another long note would be needed to
plain all the meaning in this word. Lastly, its
ork done, and war, it resolves itself into the
ments. The intense significance of the last
ng, "Where the bee sucks," I will examine in
due place.

The types of slavery in Caliban are more
lpable, and need not be dwelt on now: though
will notice them also, severally, in their proper
ıces;—the heart of his slavery is in his wor-
ip: "That's a brave god, and bears celestial
liquor." But, in illustration of the sense in
ich the Latin "benignus" and "malignus"
e to be coupled with Eleutheria and Douleia,
te that Caliban's torment is always the physical
lection of his own nature—"cramps" and
ide stitches that shall pen thy breath up;
ou shalt be pinched, as thick as honeycombs":
e whole nature of slavery being one cramp and

cretinous contraction. Fancy this of Ariel You may fetter him, but you set no mark o him; you may put him to hard work and fa journey, but you cannot give him a cramp.

135. I should dwell, even in these prefator papers, at more length on this subject of slaver had not all I would say been said already, i vain, (not, as I hope, ultimately in vain,) b Carlyle, in the first of the *Latter-day Pamphlet* which I commend to the reader's gravest rea ing; together with that as much neglected, an still more immediately needed, on model prison and with the great chapter on "Permanence (fifth of the last section of *Past and Present* which sums what is known, and foreshadow or rather forelights, all that is to be learned National Discipline. I have only here farther t examine the nature of one world-wide and eve lasting form of slavery, wholesome in use, a deadly in abuse;—the service of the rich by th poor.

CHAPTER VI

MASTERSHIP

36. As in all previous discussions of our subject, ve must study the relation of the commanding ch to the obeying poor in its simplest elements, order to reach its first principles.

The simplest state of it, then, is this: [1] a wise nd provident person works much, consumes ttle, and lays by a store; an improvident erson works little, consumes all his produce, nd lays by no store. Accident interrupts the aily work, or renders it less productive; the lle person must then starve or be supported by ne provident one, who, having him thus at his ercy, may either refuse to maintain him altoether, or, which will evidently be more to his wn interest, say to him, "I will maintain you, ideed, but you shall now work hard, instead of dolently, and instead of being allowed to lay y what you save, as you might have done, had ou remained independent, *I* will take all the rplus. You would not lay it up for yourself; is wholly your own fault that has thrown you

[1] In the present general examination I concede so much to dinary economists as to ignore all *innocent* poverty. I adapt y reasoning, for once, to the modern English practical mind, assuming poverty to be always criminal; the conceivable ceptions we will examine afterwards.

into my power, and I will force you to work, c
starve; yet you shall have no profit of you
work, only your daily bread for it; [and com
petition shall determine how much of that [1].
This mode of treatment has now become so un
versal that it is supposed to be the only natura
—nay, the only possible one; and the marke
wages are calmly defined by economists as "th
sum which will maintain the labourer."

137. The power of the provident person to d
this is only checked by the correlative power c
some neighbour of similarly frugal habits, wh
says to the labourer—"I will give you a littl
more than this other provident person: com
and work for me."

The power of the provident over the improv
dent depends thus, primarily, on their relativ
numbers; secondarily, on the modes of agree
ment of the adverse parties with each othe
The accidental level of wages is a variable functio
of the number of provident and idle persons i
the world, of the enmity between them as classes
and of the agreement between those of the sam
class. *It depends, from beginning to end, on more
conditions.*

138. Supposing the rich to be entirely selfish
*it is always for their interest that the poor shoul
be as numerous as they can employ, and restrain*
For, granting that the entire population is n
larger than the ground can easily maintain—
that the classes are stringently divided—and tha

[1] [I have no terms of English, and can find none in Gree
nor Latin, nor in any other strong language known to me, con
temptuous enough to attack the bestial idiotism of the moder
theory that wages are to be measured by competition.]

here is sense or strength of hand enough with he rich to secure obedience; then, if nine-tenths f a nation are poor, the remaining tenth have he service of nine persons each;[1] but, if eight- enths are poor, only of four each; if seven- enths are poor, of two and a third each; if ix-tenths are poor, of one and a half each; and five-tenths are poor, of only one each. But, ractically, if the rich strive always to obtain nore power over the poor, instead of to raise hem—and if, on the other hand, the poor become ontinually more vicious and numerous, through eglect and oppression,—though the *range* of the ower of the rich increases, its *tenure* becomes ss secure; until, at last, the measure of iniquity eing full, revolution, civil war, or the subjection f the state to a healthier or stronger one, closes he moral corruption, and industrial disease.[2]

139. It is rarely, however, that things come to his extremity. Kind persons among the rich, nd wise among the poor, modify the connexion f the classes; the efforts made to raise and re- eve on the one side, and the success of honest oil on the other, bind and blend the orders of ociety into the confused tissue of half-felt obliga- on, sullenly-rendered obedience, and variously- irected, or misdirected, toil, which form the arp of daily life. But this great law rules all

[1] I say nothing yet of the quality of the servants, which, evertheless, is the gist of the business. Will you have Paul eronese to paint your ceiling, or the plumber from over the ay? Both will work for the same money; Paul, if anything, little the cheaper of the two, if you keep him in good humour; lly you have to discern him first, which will need eyes.

[2] [I have not altered a syllable in these three paragraphs, 137, 38, 139, on revision; but have much italicised: the principles ated being as vital, as they are little known.]

the wild design: that success (while society guided by laws of competition) *signifies always s much victory over your neighbour* as to obtain th direction of his work, and to take the profits c it. *This is the real source of all great riches.* N man can become largely rich by his personal toil The work of his own hands, wisely directed, wi indeed always maintain himself and his family and make fitting provision for his age. *But it i only by the discovery of some method of taxing th labour of others that he can become opulent.* Ever increase of his capital enables him to extend thi taxation more widely; that is, to invest large funds in the maintenance of labourers,—to direct accordingly, vaster and yet vaster masses o labour, and to appropriate its profits.

140. There is much confusion of idea on th subject of this appropriation. It is, of course the interest of the employer to disguise it fron the persons employed; and, for his own comfor and complacency, he often desires no less t disguise it from himself. And it is matter o much doubt with me, how far the foul and foolish arguments used habitually on this subject ar indeed the honest expression of foul and foolish convictions;—or rather (as I am sometimes forced to conclude from the irritation with which they are advanced) are resolutely dishonest, wilful and malicious sophisms, arranged so as to mask to the last moment, the real laws of economy and future duties of men. By taking a simple

[1] By his art he may; but only when its produce, or the sight or hearing of it, becomes a subject of dispute, so as to enable the artist to tax the labour of multitudes highly, in exchange for his own.

ample, and working it thoroughly out, the oject may be rescued from all but such deter- ned misrepresentation.

141. Let us imagine a society of peasants, living a river-shore, exposed to destructive inunda- n at somewhat extended intervals; and that ch peasant possesses of this good, but imperilled, ound, more than he needs to cultivate for imme- ate subsistence. We will assume farther (and th too great probability of justice), that the eater part of them indolently keep in tillage just much land as supplies them with daily food;— at they leave their children idle, and take no ecautions against the rise of the stream. But e of them, (we will say but one, for the sake greater clearness) cultivates carefully *all* the ound of his estate; makes his children work rd and healthily; uses his spare time and eirs in building a rampart against the river; id, at the end of some years, has in his store- ouses large reserves of food and clothing,—in s stables a well-tended breed of cattle, and ound his fields a wedge of wall against flood.

The torrent rises at last—sweeps away the rvests, and half the cottages of the careless easants, and leaves them destitute. They natu- lly come for help to the provident one, whose elds are unwasted, and whose granaries are full. e has the right to refuse it to them: no one sputes this right.[1] But he will probably *not* fuse it; it is not his interest to do so, even were e entirely selfish and cruel. The only question

[1] [Observe this; the legal right to keep what you have orked for, and use it as you please, is the corner-stone of all onomy: compare the end of Chap. II.]

with him will be on what terms his aid is to
granted.

142. Clearly, not on terms of mere charit
To maintain his neighbours in idleness would
not only his ruin, but theirs. He will requi
work from them, in exchange for their mai
tenance; and, whether in kindness or cruelty,
the work they can give. Not now the three
four hours they were wont to spend on the
own land, but the eight or ten hours they oug
to have spent.[1] But how will he apply th
labour? The men are now his slaves;—nothir
less, and nothing more. On pain of starvatio
he can force them to work in the manner, and
the end, he chooses. And it is by his wisdom
this choice that the worthiness of his mastershi
is proved, or its unworthiness. Evidently, H
must first set them to bank out the water i
some temporary way, and to get their groun
cleansed and resown; else, in any case, the
continued maintenance will be impossible. Tha
done, and while he has still to feed them, suppos
he makes them raise a secure rampart for the
own ground against all future flood, and rebuil
their houses in safer places, with the best materia
they can find; being allowed time out of thei
working hours to fetch such material from
distance. And for the food and clothing ad
vanced, he takes security in land that as muc
shall be returned at a convenient period.

143. We may conceive this security to be re
deemed, and the debt paid at the end of a fev
years. The prudent peasant has sustained n

[1] [I should now put the time of necessary labour rather unde
than over the third of the day.]

ss; *but is no richer than he was, and has had ll his trouble for nothing.* But he has enriched is neighbours materially; bettered their houses, ecured their land, and rendered them, in worldly natters, equal to himself. In all rational and nal sense, he has been throughout their true ord and King.

144. We will next trace his probable line of nduct, presuming his object to be exclusively ne increase of his own fortune. After roughly ecovering and cleansing the ground, he allows ne ruined peasantry only to build huts upon it, ich as he thinks protective enough from the eather to keep them in working health. The st of their time he occupies, first in pulling down, nd rebuilding on a magnificent scale, his own ouse, and in adding large dependencies to it. his done, in exchange for his continued supply f corn, he buys as much of his neighbours' land s he thinks he can superintend the management f; and makes the former owners securely embank nd protect the ceded portion. By this arrange- ient, he leaves to a certain number of the easantry only as much ground as will just aintain them in their existing numbers; as the opulation increases, he takes the extra hands, ho cannot be maintained on the narrowed states, for his own servants; employs some to ultivate the ground he has bought, giving them f its produce merely enough for subsistence; ith the surplus, which, under his energetic and areful superintendence, will be large, he main- ains a train of servants for state, and a body of orkmen, whom he educates in ornamental arts. e now can splendidly decorate his house, lay

out its grounds magnificently, and richly supp
his table, and that of his household and retinu
And thus, without any abuse of right, we shou
find established all the phenomena of poverty a
riches, which (it is supposed necessarily) accor
pany modern civilisation. In one part of t
district, we should have unhealthy land, miserab
dwellings, and half-starved poor; in another,
well-ordered estate, well-fed servants, and refin
conditions of highly-educated and luxurious life.

145. I have put the two cases in simplicit
and to some extremity. But though in mo
complex and qualified operation, all the relatio
of society are but the expansion of these tw
typical sequences of conduct and result. I d
not say, observe, that the first procedure
entirely recommendable; or even entirely right
still less, that the second is wholly wrong. Se
vants, and artists, and splendour of habitatio
and retinue, have all their use, propriety, an
office. But I am determined that the read
shall understand clearly what they cost; and s
that the condition of having them is the sub
jection to us of a certain number of imprude
or unfortunate persons (or, it may be, more fortu
nate than their masters), over whose destinies w
exercise a boundless control. "Riches" mea
eternally and essentially this; and God send a
last a time when those words of our best-repute
economist shall be true, and we *shall* indeed "a
know what it is to be rich";[1] that it is to b
slave-master over farthest earth, and over a
ways and thoughts of men. Every operative yo
employ is your true servant: distant or nea

[1] [See Preface to *Unto this Last.*]

ubject to your immediate orders, or ministering o your widely-communicated caprice,—for the ay he stipulates, or the price he tempts,—all are like under this great dominion of the gold. The nilliner who makes the dress is as much a servant more so, in that she uses more intelligence in the ervice) as the maid who puts it on; the carpenter vho smooths the door, as the footman who opens ; the tradesmen who supply the table, as the abourers and sailors who supply the tradesmen. Vhy speak of these lower services? Painters nd singers (whether of note or rhyme), jesters nd story-tellers, moralists, historians, priests,— o far as these, in any degree, paint, or sing, or ell their tale, or charm their charm, or "per- orm" their rite, *for pay*,—in so far, they are all laves; abject utterly, if the service be for pay nly; abject less and less in proportion to the egrees of love and of wisdom which enter into heir duty, or *can* enter into it, according as their unction is to do the bidding and the work of a nanly people;—or to amuse, tempt, and deceive, childish one.

146. There is always, in such amusement and emptation, to a certain extent, a government of he rich by the poor, as of the poor by the rich; ut the latter is the prevailing and necessary one, nd it consists, when it is honourable, in the ollection of the profits of labour from those who vould have misused them, and the administra- ion of those profits for the service either of the ame persons in future, or of others; and when t is dishonourable, as is more frequently the case n modern times, it consists in the collection of he profits of labour from those who would have

rightly used them, and their appropriation to the service of the collector himself.

147. The examination of these various modes of collection and use of riches will form the third branch of our future inquiries; but the key to the whole subject lies in the clear understanding of the difference between selfish and unselfish expenditure. It is not easy, by any course of reasoning, to enforce this on the generally unwilling hearer; yet the definition of unselfish expenditure is brief and simple. It is expenditure which, if you are a capitalist, does not pay *you* but pays somebody else; and if you are a consumer, does not please *you*, but pleases somebody else. Take one special instance, in further illustration of the general type given above. I did not invent that type, but spoke of a real river, and of real peasantry, the languid and sickly race which inhabits, or haunts—for they are often more like spectres than living men—the thorny desolation of the banks of the Arve in Savoy. Some years ago, a society, formed at Geneva, offered to embank the river for the ground which would have been recovered by the operation; but the offer was refused by the (then Sardinian) government. The capitalists saw that this expenditure would have "paid" if the ground saved from the river was to be theirs. But if, when the offer that had this aspect of profit was refused, they had nevertheless persisted in the plan, and merely taking security for the return of their outlay, lent the funds for the work, and thus saved a whole race of human souls from perishing in a pestiferous fen (as, I presume, some among them would, at personal risk, have dragged

one drowning creature out of the current of stream, and not expected payment therefor), h expenditure would have precisely corre-nded to the use of his power made, in the t instance, by our supposed richer peasant—would have been the king's, of grace, instead he usurer's, for gain.

48. "Impossible, absurd, Utopian!" exclaim e-tenths of the few readers whom these words y find.

No, good reader, *this* is not Utopian: but I l tell you what would have seemed, if we had seen it, Utopian on the side of evil instead good; that ever men should have come to ue their money so much more than their lives, t if you call upon them to become soldiers, l take chance of a bullet through their heart, l of wife and children being left desolate, for ir pride's sake, they will do it gaily, without nking twice; but if you ask them, for their ntry's sake, to spend a hundred pounds with-security of getting back a hundred-and-five,[1] y will laugh in your face.

I have not hitherto touched on the subject of interest of ey; it is too complex, and must be reserved for its proper e in the body of the work. The definition of interest rt from compensation for risk) is, "the exponent of the fort of accomplished labour, separated from its power;" power being what is lent: and the French economists who e maintained the entire illegality of interest are wrong; by no means so curiously or wildly wrong as the English French ones opposed to them, whose opinions have been ected by Dr. Whewell at page 41 of his *Lectures;* it never ming to occur to the mind of the compiler, any more than to writers whom he quotes, that it is quite possible, and even cording to Jewish proverb) prudent, for men to hoard as s and mice do, for use, not usury; and lay by something winter nights, in the expectation of rather sharing than ling the scrapings. My Savoyard squirrels would pass a

149. Not but that also this game of life-givi and taking is, in the end, somewhat more cos than other forms of play might be. Rifle pract is, indeed, a not unhealthy pastime, and a featl on the top of the head is a pleasing appendag but while learning the stops and fingering of t sweet instrument, does no one ever calculate t cost of an overture? What melody does Tityı meditate on his tenderly spiral pipe? The lead seed of it, broad-cast, true conical "Dents Lion" seed—needing less allowance for the wi than is usual with that kind of herb—what cr are you likely to have of it? Suppose, inste of this volunteer marching and counter-marchir you were to do a little volunteer ploughing a counter-ploughing? It is more difficult to do straight: the dust of the earth, so disturbed, more grateful than for merely rhythmic footstej Golden cups, also, given for good ploughir would be more suitable in colour: (ruby glas for the wine which "giveth his colour" on t ground, might be fitter for the rifle prize in ladi hands). Or, conceive a little volunteer exerci with the spade, other than such as is needed f moat and breastwork, or even for the burial the fruit of the laden avena-seed, subject to t shrill Lemures' criticism—

Wer hat das Haus so schlecht gebaut?

If you were to embank Lincolnshire more stout

pleasant time of it under the snow-laden pine-branches, if th always declined to economise because no one would pay the interest on nuts.

[I leave this note as it stood: but, as I have above state should now side wholly with the French economists spoken c in asserting the absolute illegality of interest.]

gainst the sea? or strip the peat of Solway, or ant Plinlimmon moors with larch—then, in due ason, some amateur reaping and threshing?

"Nay, we reap and thresh by steam, in these lvanced days."

I know it, my wise and economical friends. he stout arms God gave you to win your bread y, you would fain shoot your neighbours, and od's sweet singers with;[1] then you invoke the ends to your farm-service; and—

When young and old come forth to play
On a sulphurous holiday,
Tell how the darkling goblin sweat
(His feast of cinders duly set),
And, belching night, where breathed the morn,
His shadowy flail hath threshed the corn
That ten day-labourers could not end.

---

1 Compare Chaucer's feeling respecting birds (from Canace's lcon, to the nightingale, singing, "Domine, labia—" to the ord of Love) with the usual modern British sentiments on iis subject. Or even Cowley's:—

"What prince's choir of music can excel
That which within this shade does dwell,
To which we nothing pay, or give,
They, like all other poets, live
Without reward, or thanks for their obliging pains!
'Tis well if they become not prey."

Yes; it is better than well; particularly since the seed sown y the wayside has been protected by the peculiar appropria- on of part of the church-rates in our country parishes. See ie remonstrance from a "Country Parson," in *The Times* of une 4th (or 5th; the letter is dated June 3rd), 1862:—"I have eard at a vestry meeting a good deal of higgling over a few hillings' outlay in cleaning the church; but I have never heard ny dissatisfaction expressed on account of that part of the rate vhich is invested in 50 or 100 dozens of birds' heads."

[If we could trace the innermost of all causes of modern war, believe it would be found, not in the avarice nor ambition of iations, but in the mere idleness of the upper classes. They iave nothing to do but to teach the peasantry to kill each)ther.]

150. Going back to the matter in hand we wi press the example closer. On a green knoll abov that plain of the Arve, between Cluse and Bonn ville, there was, in the year 1860, a cottage, i habited by a well-doing family—man and wif three children, and the grandmother. I call a cottage, but in truth, it was a large chimne on the ground, wide at the bottom, so that th family might live round the fire; lighted b one small broken window, and entered by a unclosing door. The family, I say, was "well doing"; at least, it was hopeful and cheerful the wife healthy, the children, for Savoyards pretty and active, but the husband threatene with decline, from exposure under the cliffs o the Mont Vergi by day, and to draughts betwee every plank of his chimney in the frosty nights.

"Why could he not plaster the chinks?" ask the practical reader. For the same reason tha your child cannot wash its face and hands till yo have washed them many a day for it, and will no wash them when it can, till you force it.

151. I passed this cottage often in my walks had its window and door mended; sometime mended also a little the meal of sour bread an broth, and generally got kind greeting and smil from the face of young or old; which greeting this year, narrowed itself into the half-recognis ing stare of the elder child, and the old woman' tears; for the father and mother were both dead —one of sickness, the other of sorrow. It hap pened that I passed not alone, but with a com panion, a practised English joiner, who, while these people were dying of cold, had been em ployed from six in the morning to six in the

vening, for two months, in fitting, without nails, ıe panels of a single door in a large house in ondon. Three days of his work taken, at the ght time, from fastening the oak panels with seless precision, and applied to fasten the larch mbers with decent strength, would have saved ıese Savoyards' lives. *He* would have been ıaintained equally; (I suppose him equally paid ır his work by the owner of the greater house, ıly the work not consumed selfishly on his own alls;) and the two peasants, and eventually, robably their children, saved.

152. There are, therefore,—let me finally en- ırce, and leave with the reader, this broad ınclusion,—three things to be considered in em- loying any poor person. It is not enough to ive him employment. You must employ him rst to produce useful things; secondly, of the everal (suppose equally useful) things he can qually well produce, you must set him to make hat which will cause him to lead the healthiest fe; lastly, of the things produced, it remains question of wisdom and conscience how much ou are to take yourself, and how much to leave o others. A large quantity, remember, unless ou destroy it, *must* always be so left at one ime or another; the only questions you have to ecide are, not *what* you will give, but *when*, and *ow*, and to *whom*, you will give. The natural aw of human life is, of course, that in youth a nan shall labour and lay by store for his old ge, and when age comes, shall use what he has aid by, gradually slackening his toil, and allow- ng himself more frank use of his store; taking are always to leave himself as much as will

surely suffice for him beyond any possible lengt of life. What he has gained, or by tranquil an unanxious toil continues to gain, more than enough for his own need, he ought so to ac minister, while he yet lives, as to see the goo of it again beginning, in other hands; for thu he has himself the greatest sum of pleasure fro it, and faithfully uses his sagacity in its contro Whereas most men, it appears, dislike the sigh of their fortunes going out into service again, an say to themselves,—"I can indeed nowise preven this money from falling at last into the hand of others, nor hinder the good of it from be coming theirs, not mine; but at least let merciful death save me from being a witnes of their satisfaction; and may God so far b gracious to me as to let no good come of any c this money of mine before my eyes."

153. Supposing this feeling unconquerable, th safest way of rationally indulging it would be fo the capitalist at once to spend all his fortune o himself, which might actually, in many cases, b quite the rightest as well as the pleasantest thin to do, if he had just tastes and worthy passions But, whether for himself only, or through th hands, and for the sake of others also, the law o wise life is, that the maker of the money shoul also be the spender of it, and spend it, approxi mately, all, before he dies; so that his tru ambition as an economist should be, to die, no as rich, but as poor, as possible,[1] calculating th

[1] [See the *Life of Fénelon.* "The labouring peasantry wer at all times the objects of his tenderest care; his palace a Cambray, with all his books and writings, being consumed b fire, he bore the misfortune with unruffled calmness, and said

)b tide of possession in true and calm proportion
) the ebb tide of life. Which law, checking the
ing of accumulative desire in the mid-volley,[1]
ıd leading to peace of possession and fulness of
uition in old age, is also wholesome in that by
ıe freedom of gift, together with present help
ıd counsel, it at once endears and dignifies age
the sight of youth, which then no longer strips
ıe bodies of the dead, but receives the grace of
ıe living. Its chief use would (or will be, for
ıen are indeed capable of attaining to this much
se of their reason), that some temperance and
ıeasure will be put to the acquisitiveness of
ɔmmerce.[2] For as things stand, a man holds
his duty to be temperate in his food, and of
is body, but for no duty to be temperate in his
ıches, and of his mind. He sees that he ought
ot to waste his youth and his flesh for luxury;
ut he will waste his age, and his soul, for money,

was better his palace should be burnt than the cottage of a
oor peasant." (These thoroughly good men always go too
ır, and lose their power over the mass.) He died exemplify-
ıg the mean he had always observed between prodigality and
varice, leaving neither debts nor money.]

1 καὶ πενίαν ἡγουμένους εἶναι μὴ τὸ τὴν οὐσίαν ἐλάττω ποιεῖν ἀλλὰ
ὁ τὴν ἀπλησπλαν πλείω. "And thinking (wisely) that poverty
onsists not in making one's possessions less, but one's avarice
ıore."—*Laws*, v. 8. Read the context, and compare. "He
ho spends for all that is noble, and gains by nothing but what
s just, will hardly be notably wealthy, or distressfully poor."
—*Laws*, v. 12.

2 The fury of modern trade arises chiefly out of the possi-
ility of making sudden fortunes by largeness of transaction,
nd accident of discovery or contrivance. I have no doubt
hat the final interest of every nation is to check the action of
hese commercial lotteries; and that all great accidental gains
r losses should be national,—not individual. But speculation
bsolute, unconnected with commercial effort, is an unmitigated
vil in a state, and the root of countless evils beside.

and think he does no wrong, nor know the *d*
lirium tremens of the intellect for disease. Bu
the law of life is, that a man should fix the su
he desires to make annually, as the food he desire
to eat daily; and stay when he has reached th
limit, refusing increase of business, and leaving
to others, so obtaining due freedom of time fo
better thoughts.[1] How the gluttony of busines
is punished, a bill of health for the principals o
the richest city houses, issued annually, woul
show in a sufficiently impressive manner.

154. I know, of course, that these statement
will be received by the modern merchant as a
active border rider of the sixteenth century woul
have heard of its being proper for men of th
Marches to get their living by the spade, instea
of the spur. But my business is only to stat
veracities and necessities; I neither look for th
acceptance of the one, nor hope for the nearness o
the other. Near or distant, the day *will* assuredl
come when the merchants of a state shall be it
true ministers of exchange, its porters, in th
double sense of carriers and gate-keepers, bringin
all lands into frank and faithful communication
and knowing for their master of guild, Hermes th
herald, instead of Mercury the gain-guarder.

155. And now, finally, for immediate rule t
all who will accept it.

The distress of any population means tha
they need food, house-room, clothes, and fuel
You can never, therefore, be wrong in employin
any labourer to produce food, house-room, clothes
or fuel; but you are *always* wrong if you emplo

1 [I desire in the strongest terms to reinforce all that is con
tained in this paragraph.]

m to produce nothing, (for then some other bourer must be worked double time to feed im); and you are generally wrong, at present, you employ him (unless he can do nothing se) to produce works of art or luxuries; because iodern art is mostly on a false basis, and modern ixury is criminally great.[1]

156. The way to produce more food is mainly bring in fresh ground, and increase facilities f carriage;—to break rock, exchange earth, rain the moist, and water the dry, to mend oads, and build harbours of refuge. Taxation aus spent will annihilate taxation, but spent in ar it annihilates revenue.

157. The way to produce house-room is to

1 It is especially necessary that the reader should keep his ind fixed on the methods of consumption and destruction, as ie true sources of national poverty. Men are apt to call every xchange "expenditure," but it is only consumption which is xpenditure. A large number of the purchases made by the cher classes are mere forms of interchange of unused pro-erty, wholly without effect on national prosperity. It matters othing to the state whether, if a china pipkin be rated as orth a hundred pounds, A has the pipkin and B the pounds, r A the pounds and B the pipkin. But if the pipkin is pretty, nd A or B breaks it, there is national loss, not otherwise. So gain, when the loss has really taken place, no shifting of the houlders that bear it will do away with the reality of it. There s an intensely ludicrous notion in the public mind respecting he abolishment of debt by denying it. When a debt is denied, he lender loses instead of the borrower, that is all; the loss is precisely, accurately, everlastingly the same. The Americans orrow money to spend in blowing up their own houses. They leny their debt, by one third already [1863], gold being at ifty premium; and they will probably deny it wholly. That nerely means that the holders of the notes are to be the losers nstead of the issuers. The quantity of loss is precisely equal, nd irrevocable; it is the quantity of human industry spent in ffecting the explosion, plus the quantity of goods exploded. Honour only decides *who* shall pay the sum lost, not whether : is to be paid or not. Paid it must be, and to the uttermost arthing.

apply your force first to the humblest dwellings. When your bricklayers are out of employ, do not build splendid new streets, but better the old ones; send your paviours and slaters to the poorest villages, and see that your poor are healthily lodged, before you try your hand on stately architecture. You will find its statelines rise better under the trowel afterwards; and we do not yet build so well that we need hasten to display our skill to future ages. Had the labour which has decorated the Houses of Parliament filled, instead, rents in walls and roofs throughout the county of Middlesex; and our deputies met to talk within massive walls that would have needed no stucco for five hundred years,—the decoration might have been better afterwards and the talk now. And touching even our highly conscientious church building, it may be well to remember that in the best days of church plans their masons called themselves "logeurs du bon Dieu"; and that since, according to the most trusted reports, God spends a good deal of His time in cottages as well as in churches, He might perhaps like to be a little better lodged there also.

§ 158. The way to get more clothes is—not necessarily, to get more cotton. There were words written twenty years ago[1] which would have saved many of us some shivering, had they been minded in time. Shall we read them again?

"The Continental people, it would seem, are importing our machinery, beginning to spin

[1] [*Past and Present*, Chap. IX. of Third Section. To think that for these twenty—now twenty-six—years, this one voice of Carlyle's has been the only faithful and useful utterance in all England, and has sounded through all these years in vain! See *Fors Clavigera*, Letter X.]

ɔtton, and manufacture for themselves; to cut
ɜ out of this market, and then out of that! Sad
ɜws, indeed; but irremediable;—by no means
ıe saddest news. The saddest news, is that we
ıould find our National Existence, as I some-
mes hear it said, depend on selling manufactured
ɔtton at a farthing an ell cheaper than any other
eople. A most narrow stand for a great Nation
ɔ base itself on! A stand which, with all the
orn-Law Abrogations conceivable, I do not think
ill be capable of enduring.

"My friends, suppose we quitted that stand;
ıppose we came honestly down from it and
aid—'This is our minimum of cotton-prices.
Ve care not, for the present, to make cotton any
heaper. Do you, if it seem so blessed to you,
ıake cotton cheaper. Fill your lungs with cotton-
ızz, your hearts with copperas-fumes, with rage
nd mutiny; become ye the general gnomes of
Europe, slaves of the lamp!'—I admire a nation
ɣhich fancies it will die if it do not undersell all
ɔther Nations to the end of the world. Brothers,
ve will cease to *under*sell them; we will be
ontent to *equal*-sell them; to be happy selling
qually with them! I do not see the use of
ınderselling them. Cotton-cloth is already two-
ɔence a yard or lower; and yet bare backs were
ıever more numerous among us. Let inventive
nen cease to spend their existence incessantly
ontriving how cotton can be made cheaper; and
ry to invent, a little, how cotton at its present
heapness could be somewhat justlier divided
ımong us. Let inventive men consider, Whether
he Secret of this Universe . . . does after all
onsist in making money. . . . With a Hell which

means—'Failing to make money,' I do not think there is any Heaven possible that would suit one well. In brief, all this Mammon-Gospel, of Supply-and-demand, Competition, *Laissez-faire*, and Devil take the hindmost" (foremost, is it not, rather, Mr. Carlyle ?), "begins to be one of the shabbiest Gospels ever preached."

159. The way to produce more fuel[1] is first to make your coal mines safer, by sinking more shafts; then set all your convicts to work in them, and if, as is to be hoped, you succeed in diminishing the supply of that sort of labourer, consider what means there may be, first, of growing forest where its growth will improve climate; secondly, of splintering the forests which now make continents of fruitful land pathless and poisonous, into faggots for fire;—so gaining at once dominion icewards and sunwards. Your steam power has been given (you will find eventually) for work such as that: and not for excursion trains, to give the labourer a moment's breath, at the peril of his breath for ever, from amidst the cities which it has crushed into masses of corruption. When you know how to build cities, and how to rule them, you will be able to breathe in their streets, and the "excursion" will be the afternoon's walk or game in the fields round them.

160. "But nothing of this work will pay ?"

No; no more than it pays to dust your rooms, or wash your doorsteps. It will pay; not at first in currency, but in that which is the end

[1] [We don't want to produce more fuel just now, but much less; and to use what we get for cooking and warming ourselves, instead of for running from place to place.]

and the source of currency,—in life; (and in currency richly afterwards). It will pay in that which is more than life,—in light, whose true price has not yet been reckoned in any currency, and yet into the image, of which all wealth, one way or other, must be cast. For your riches must either be as the lightning, which,

> Begot but in a cloud,
> Though shining bright, and speaking loud,
> Whilst it begins, concludes its violent race;
> And, where it gilds, it wounds the place;—

or else, as the lightning of the sacred sign, which shines from one part of the heaven to the other. There is no other choice; you must either take dust for deity, spectre for possession, fettered dream for life, and for epitaph, this reversed verse of the great Hebrew hymn of economy (Psalm cxii.):—"He hath gathered together, he hath stripped the poor, his iniquity remaineth for ever:"—or else, having the sun of justice to shine on you, and the sincere substance of good in your possession, and the pure law and liberty of life within you, leave men to write this better legend over your grave:—

"He hath dispersed abroad. He hath given to the poor. His righteousness remaineth for ever."

APPENDICES

[I HAVE brought together in these last pages a few notes, which were not properly to be incorporated with the text, and which, at the bottom of pages, checked the reader's attention to the main argument. They contain, however, several statements to which I wish to be able to refer, or have already referred, in other of my books, so that I think right to preserve them.]

APPENDIX I.—(p. 167.)

THE greatest of all economists are those most opposed to the doctrine of "laissez faire," namely, the fortifying virtues, which the wisest men of all time have arranged under the general heads of Prudence, or Discretion (the spirit which discerns and adopts rightly); Justice (the spirit which rules and divides rightly); Fortitude (the spirit which persists and endures rightly); and Temperance (the spirit which stops and refuses rightly). These cardinal and sentinel virtues are not only the means of protecting and prolonging life itself, but they are the chief guards, or sources, of the material means of life, and the governing powers and princes of economy. Thus, precisely according to the number of just men in a nation, is their power of avoiding either intestine or foreign war. All disputes may be peaceably settled, if a sufficient number of persons have been trained to submit to the principles of justice, while the necessity for war is in direct ratio to the number of

unjust persons who are incapable of determining a quarrel but by violence. Whether the injustice take the form of the desire of dominion, or of refusal to submit to it, or of lust of territory, or lust of money, or of mere irregular passion and wanton will, the result is economically the same;—loss of the quantity of power and life consumed in repressing the injustice added to the material and moral destruction caused by the fact of war. The early civil wars of England, and the existing[1] war in America, are curious examples —these under monarchical, this under republican, institutions—of the results on large masses of nations of the want of education in principles of justice. But the mere dread of distrust resulting from the want of the inner virtues of Faith and Charity prove often no less costly than war itself. The fear which France and England have of each other costs each nation about fifteen millions sterling annually, besides various paralyses of commerce; that sum being spent in the manufacture of means of destruction instead of means of production. There is no more reason in the nature of things that France and England should be hostile to each other than that England and Scotland should be, or Lancashire and Yorkshire; and the reciprocal terrors of the opposite sides of the English Channel are neither more necessary, more economical, nor more virtuous, than the old riding and reiving on the opposite flanks of the Cheviots, or than England's own weaving for herself of crowns of thorn, from the stems of her Red and White Roses.

APPENDIX II.—(p. 184.)

FEW passages of the book which at least some part of the nations at present most advanced in civilisation accept as an expression of final truth, have been more distorted than those bearing on Idolatry. For the idolatry there denounced is neither sculpture, nor

[1] [Written in 1862. I little thought that when I next corrected my type, the "existing" war best illustrative of the sentence, would be between Frenchmen in the Elysian Fields of Paris.]

veneration of sculpture. It is simply the substitution of an "Eidolon," phantasm, or imagination of Good, or that which is real and enduring; from the Highest Living Good, which gives life, to the lowest material good which ministers to it. The Creator, and the things created, which He is said to have "seen good" in creating, are in this their eternal goodness appointed always to be "worshipped,"—*i.e.*, to have goodness and worth ascribed to them from the heart; and the sweep and range of idolatry extend to the rejection of any or all of these, "calling evil good, and good evil,—putting bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter." [1] For in that rejection and substitution we betray the first of all Loyalties, to the fixed Law of life, and with resolute opposite loyalty serve our own imagination of good, which is the law, not of the House, but of the Grave (otherwise called the law of "mark missing," which we translate "law of Sin"); these "two masters," between whose services we have to choose, being otherwise distinguished as God and Mammon, which Mammon, though we narrowly take it as the power of money only, is in truth the great evil Spirit of false and fond desire, or "Covetousness, which is Idolatry." So that Iconoclasm—*image-breaking*—is easy; but an Idol cannot be broken—it must be forsaken; and this is not so easy, either to do, or persuade to doing. For men may readily be convinced of the weakness of an image; but not of the emptiness of an imagination.

APPENDIX III.—(p. 187.)

I HAVE not attempted to support, by the authority of other writers, any of the statements made in these papers; indeed, if such authorities were rightly collected, there would be no occasion for my writing at all. Even in the scattered passages referring to this subject in three books of Carlyle's—*Sartor Resartus, Past and Present,* and the *Latter-day Pamphlets,*—all has been said that needs to be said,

[1] Compare the close of the Fourth Lecture in *Aratra Pentelici.*

and far better than I shall ever say it again. But the habit of the public mind at present is to require everything to be uttered diffusely, loudly, and a hundred times over, before it will listen; and it has revolted against these papers of mine as if they contained things daring and new, when there is not one assertion in them of which the truth has not been for ages known to the wisest, and proclaimed by the most eloquent of men. It would be [I had written *will* be; but have now reached a time of life for which there is but one mood—the conditional,] a far greater pleasure to me hereafter, to collect their words than to add to mine; Horace's clear rendering of the substance of the passages in the text may be found room for at once,

> Si quis emat citharas, emptas comportet in unum,
> Nec studio citharae nec Musae deditus ulli;
> Si scalpra et formas non sutor; nautica vela,
> Aversus mercaturis, delirus et amens
> Undique dicatur merito. Quî discrepat istis
> Qui nummos aurumque recondit, nescius uti
> Compositis; metuensque velut contingere sacrum?

[Which may be roughly thus translated:—

"Were anybody to buy fiddles, and collect a number, being in no wise given to fiddling, nor fond of music: or if, being no cobbler, he collected awls and lasts, or, having no mind for sea-adventure, bought sails, every one would call him a madman, and deservedly. But what difference is there between such a man and one who lays by coins and gold, and does not know how to use, when he has got them?"]

With which it is perhaps desirable also to give Xenophon's statement, it being clearer than any English one can be, owing to the power of the general Greek term for wealth, "useable things."

[I have cut out the Greek because I can't be troubled to correct the accents, and am always nervous about them; here it is in English, as well as I can do it:—

"This being so, it follows that things are only property to the man who knows how to use them; as flutes, for instance, are property to the man who

n pipe upon them respectably: but to one who ows not how to pipe, they are no property, unless can get rid of them advantageously. . . . For if ey are not sold, the flutes are no property (being rviceable for nothing); but, sold, they become operty. To which Socrates made answer,—'and ly then if he knows how to sell them, for if he sell em to another man who cannot play on them, still ey are no property.'"]

APPENDIX IV.—(p. 190.)

HE reader is to include here in the idea of "Govern-ent," any branch of the Executive, or even any ody of private persons, entrusted with the prac-cal management of public interests unconnected rectly with their own personal ones. In theoretical scussions of legislative interference with political conomy, it is usually, and of course unnecessarily, sumed that Government must be always of that rm and force in which we have been accustomed see it;—that its abuses can never be less, nor its isdom greater, nor its powers more numerous. But, ractically, the custom in most civilised countries is, r every man to deprecate the interference of Govern-ent as long as things tell for his personal advantage, nd to call for it when they cease to do so. The request f the Manchester Economists to be supplied with otton by Government (the system of supply and emand having, for the time, fallen sorrowfully short f the expectations of scientific persons from it), is n interesting case in point. It were to be wished hat less wide and bitter suffering, suffering, too, of he innocent, had been needed to force the nation, r some part of it, to ask itself why a body of ien, already confessedly capable of managing matters oth military and divine, should not be permitted, or ven requested, at need, to provide in some wise for ustenance as well as for defence; and secure, if it ight be,—(and it might, I think, even the *rather* be), —purity of bodily, as well as of spiritual, aliment? Why, having made many roads for the passage of

armies, may they not make a few for the conveyanc of food; and after organising, with applause, variou schemes of theological instruction for the Public, orga nise, moreover, some methods of bodily nourishmen for them? Or is the soul so much less trustworth in its instincts than the stomach, that legislation i necessary for the one, but inapplicable to the other?

APPENDIX V.—(p. 236.)

I DEBATED with myself whether to make the note o Homer longer by examining the typical meaning c the shipwreck of Ulysses, and his escape from Charybdi by help of her fig-tree; but as I should have had t go on to the lovely myth of Leucothea's veil, an did not care to spoil this by a hurried account of it I left it for future examination; and, three days afte the paper was published, observed that the reviewers with their customary helpfulness, were endeavourin to throw the whole subject back into confusion b dwelling on the single (as they imagined) oversight I omitted also a note on the sense of the word λυγρὸν with respect to the pharmacy of Circe, and herb-field of Helen (compare its use in Odyssey, xvii., 473, etc.) which would farther have illustrated the nature of th Circean power. But, not to be led too far into th subtleties of these myths, observe respecting them all that even in very simple parables, it is not alway easy to attach indisputable meaning to every par of them. I recollect some years ago, throwing an assembly of learned persons who had met to deligh themselves with interpretations of the parable of th prodigal son, (interpretations which had up to tha moment gone very smoothly), into mute indignation by inadvertently asking who the *un*prodigal son was and what was to be learned by *his* example. The leading divine of the company, Mr. Molyneux, at last explained to me that the unprodigal son was a lay figure, put in for dramatic effect, to make the story prettier, and that no note was to be taken of him Without, however, admitting that Homer put in the last escape of Ulysses merely to make his story prettier,

s is nevertheless true of all Greek myths, that they
re many opposite lights and shades; they are as
ngeful as opal, and like opal, usually have one
our by reflected, and another by transmitted light.
t they are true jewels for all that, and full of noble
hantment for those who can use them; for those
o cannot, I am content to repeat the words I wrote
r years ago, in the appendix to the *Two Paths*—
'The entire purpose of a great thinker may be
ficult to fathom, and we may be over and over
in more or less mistaken in guessing at his mean-
; but the real, profound, nay, quite bottomless and
edeemable mistake, is the fool's thought, that he
l *no* meaning."

APPENDIX VI.—(p. 248.)

E derivation of words is like that of rivers; there
ne real source, usually small, unlikely, and difficult
find, far up among the hills; then, as the word
ws on and comes into service, it takes in the force
other words from other sources, and becomes quite
other word—often much more than one word, after
junction—a word as it were of many waters, some-
nes both sweet and bitter. Thus the whole force
our English "charity" depends on the guttural in
haris" getting confused with the c of the Latin
arus"; thenceforward throughout the middle ages,
two ideas ran on together, and both got confused
th St. Paul's ἀγάπη, which expresses a different idea
all sorts of ways; our "charity" having not only
ought in the entirely foreign sense of almsgiving,
t lost the essential sense of contentment, and lost
uch more in getting too far away from the "charis"
the final gospel benedictions. For truly it is fine
ristianity we have come to, which, professing to
pect the perpetual grace or charity of its Founder,
s not itself grace or charity enough to hinder it
m overreaching its friends in sixpenny bargains;
d which, supplicating evening and morning the
rgiveness of its own debts, goes forth at noon to
ke its fellow-servants by the throat, saying,—not

merely "Pay me that thou owest," but "Pay me t
thou owest me *not*."

It is true that we sometimes wear Ophelia's
with a difference, and call it "Herb o' grace
Sundays," taking consolation out of the offert
with—"Look, what he layeth out, it shall be p
him again." Comfortable words indeed, and g
to set against the old royalty of Largesse—

> Whose moste joie was, I wis,
> When that she gave, and said, "Have this."

[I am glad to end, for this time, with these lov
words of Chaucer. We have heard only too mu
lately of "Indiscriminate charity," with impl
reproval, not of the Indiscrimination merely, b
of the Charity also. We have partly succeeded
enforcing on the minds of the poor the idea that it
disgraceful to receive; and are likely, without mu
difficulty, to succeed in persuading not a few of t
rich that it is disgraceful to give. But the politi
economy of a great state makes both giving a
receiving graceful; and the political economy of t
religion interprets the saying that "it is more bless
to give than to receive," not as the promise of rewa
in another life for mortified selfishness in this, b
as pledge of bestowal upon us of that sweet and bet
nature, which does not mortify itself in giving.]

BRANTWOOD, CONISTON,
5th October, 1871.

INDEX

The references are not to pages but to the sections which are common to all editions of the book. Where the words "orig. ess." are added in brackets after a reference, the passage referred to is one contained in the original essays as they appeared in "Fraser's Magazine" (see above, p. 142), and omitted by Ruskin in the revised volume. They are given here both as indicating the extent of Ruskin's revision and also because the passages to which they refer are now reprinted in the Library Edition of his Works.]

CTIONS, right, seen in beauty of countenance, 6.
glaia, Charis, wife of Vulcan, 101.
griculture, as dominion over land and sea (fixed and flowing fields), 16 (*orig. ess.*).
,, volunteer, proposed, 149.
mbition and love of money, Dante on, 93.
mbrosia, not to be had without labour, 94.
merica, Carlyle on, 124.
,, condition of, "the greatest railroad accident on record," 124.
,, dollar-worship in, App. I. (*orig. ess.*).
,, explosions in, 47, 56.
,, has no republic or institutions, 124.
,, loan in (1863), 155 *n.*
,, slavery in, 131.
,, war in, 124 *n* A. I. (*orig. ess.*).
mes, on monarchy and republics, quoted by Emerson, 124 *n.*
pathy, modern, its baseness, 108.
phrodite, birth of, 101.
pollo's rule, οὐ πληγῇ νέμων, 130.
rchitecture, all houses to be well, before any finely, built, 157.
rchons and archic law, 110–17.
ristocracy, government by, 123.
ristophanes, κάπηλοι ἀσπίδων, 127.
rt, great, only possible in climates where life is in open air, 96.
,, may be a means to great wealth, 139 *n.*

Art, modern, false basis of, 155.
,, works of, accumulated by a prosperous nation, 54.
,, ,, economical value of, 20.
,, ,, included in list of things valuable, 15.
,, ,, prices given for, 65.
,, ,, possession of, laws as to, 115.
Arve (Savoy), inundation of the, 147.
,, ,, miserable dwellings in the plain of, 150 *seq.*
Athena's rule, *οὐ πληγῇ νέμων*, 130.
Athens, purity of coinage, 77 *n.*
Austrians in Venice and the works of Tintoret (1851), *pr* 3, 9.
Author (1.) *Personal;* (2.) *Teaching;* (3.) *Books of, quoted referred to:—*
(1.) accuses himself of vanity, 100 *n.*
as a boy, at his father's table, hearing of national del *pref.* 18.
cottage on plain of Arve, repaired by, 151.
Greek accents and, App. III.
servants of, would serve him for nothing, *pref.* 12.
taking daguerreotypes at Venice, 77 *n.*
in Venice, 1851, *pref.* 3.
checked in his work, 1863, *pref.* 20.
writes *Munera Pulveris* in Switzerland, 1862–3, winte *pref.* 22.
Brantwood, Oct. 5, 1871, App. VI.
on relief of Paris committee (1871), *pref.* 10.
Denmark Hill, Nov. 25, 1871, *pref.* 23.
(2.) Teaching, on prodigal and unprodigal son. App. VI.
plans of, unfulfilled, 57 *n.*
political economy of, defined, *pref.* 13.
,, ,, does not put sentime for science, *pref.* 13; and *n.*
,, ,, plan to write an exhausti treatise on, *pref.* 20.
,, ,, recognition of true weal (Tintorets), *pref.* 3–4.
,, ,, Utopian! 148.
,, ,, weary of reiterating truths, 96 *n.*
style of, affected concentration (*Munera Pulveris*), *pref.* 22.
,, uses metaphor for brevity, 83 *n.*
,, translates literally, 105 *n.*
,, use of words, 125 *n.*
teaching of, true, and his hope of its fulfi ment, 154.

Author (*continued*):—(3.) Books of, quoted or referred to—
Aratra Pentelici, Lect. IV., Idolatry, App. II.
Fors Clavigera, aim of, *pref.* 21.
,, ,, notes on etymology in, 100 *n.*
,, ,, Letter X., 158 *n.*
Lectures on Art, on Tintoret, *pref.* 4.
Modern Painters, Vol. V. p. 255, faith and πείθω, App. VI.
Munera Pulveris, method of its argument, 43.
,, ,, original scope of, *pref.* 20.
,, ,, criticism of, absurd, 69 *n*, App. III. V.
,, ,, dedicated to Carlyle, *pref.* 22.
,, ,, *Fraser's Magazine* and, *pref.* 20; 94.
,, ,, style of, its faults, *pref.* 22.
,, ,, teaching of, the first English treatise on true political economy, *pref.* 1.
,, ,, how written and when, *pref.* 22, 30.
,, ,, carefully revised and why, *pref.* 22.
,, ,, misprints in original essays, App. V. VI. (*orig. ess.*).
,, ,, passage on Dante, praised by editor of *Fraser's Magazine*, 94.
,, ,, one sentence in, questioned by author, 112 and *n.*
,, ,, paras. 137–9 insisted on, 138 *n.*
Political Economy of Art (A Joy for Ever), on luxury in dress, quoted, *pref.* 16.
Sesame and Lilies, dedicated to φιλή, *pref.* 22.
Two Paths, on meaning of great writers, App. V.
Unto this Last, reception of, *pref.* 20.
,, ,, quoted, p. 115, 63 *n.*
,, ,, ,, on education, 108 (*orig. ess.*), 59 *n* (*orig. ess.*).
,, ,, ,, p. 81, on price, 62 *n* (*orig. ess.*).
Avarice, Dante on, 88.

BACCHUS, the grave, 102 *n.*
Bacon, "Advancement of Learning," 124 *n* (*orig. ess.*).
,, on Charybdis, 86.
,, political economy of, 2.
,, on the Sirens, 90.
,, on usury, "concessum propter duritiem cordis," 98.
Barbarossa, Plato and Xenophon on, 109 *n.*
Baptism, moral, with water and fire, 106.
Beauty, personal, the result of right action, and *vice versâ*, 6.
Bedford missal, the, 65.
Beetles, flight of, on Lake of Zug, and democracy, 126.

Benediction, "grace, mercy, and peace," 106.
Bible :—
Gen. i. 10. Saw that it was good, App. II.
Gen. xxvii. 41. The days of mourning for my father . . . brother, 9
Ps. cxii. 9. He hath dispersed abroad, 160.
,, cxix. 25. My soul cleaveth unto the dust, 88.
Prov. xix. 17. Look what he layeth out . . . paid again, App. V
Isaiah ii. 4. Spears into pruning hooks, 52.
,, v. 20. Calling evil good, and good evil,—putting bitt for sweet, App. II.
,, xxxvi. 8. I will give thee a thousand horses . . . riders them, 35.
Lam. iii. 27. It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in h youth, 112.
Matt. v. 3. Blessed are the poor in spirit, 56 *n.*
,, vi. 25. Is not life more than meat, 56.
,, xiii. 22. ἀπάτη πλούτου, 90.
,, xviii. 28. Pay me that thou owest, App. VI.
,, xix. 8. Because of the hardness of your hearts, 98.
,, xxi. 19. Barren fig-tree, 93.
Luke vi. 24. You that are rich . . . received consolation, 56
,, xii. 18. I will pull down my barns . . . greater, 72.
,, xv. 11, *seq.* Prodigal Son, App. V.
Acts xx. 35. More blessed to give, App. VI.
Rom. viii. 21. Bondage of corruption, 103.

Bibliomania, 65.
Biography, 122.
Birds, Chaucer and Cowley on, 149 *n.*
,, shooting of, 149.
Blink Bonny (horse), 65.
Body and soul not really opposed, 6.
Books, their economical value, 19. See s. *Bibliomania.*
Buildings, their value in (1) permanent strength, (2) associati and beauty, 17.
Building land, modern view of suitable, 79.
British Association, on absorption of gold, 77 *n.*
British Museum, a treasury, not a school, 115, 122.
,, ,, what it is and is not, 115, 122.

Caffirs, England and the, 97 *n.*
Canacé's falcon, 149 *n.*
Cancan, the modern dance, *pref.* 4.
Capital limits labour, untrue, 50.
Capitalists and foreign loans, *pref.* 19.
,, as mere money-chests, 38.
,, to do unselfish work, 147.
Caprice has no law, 34.
Caractacus, 65.
Carlyle, author's main helper in work, *pref.* 22.
,, dedication of *Munera Pulveris* to, *pref.* 22.
,, eulogy of his teaching, and its rejection, *pref.* 23.

rlyle, political economy of, *pref.* 20.
,, quoted, on America, 124.
,, *Latter-day Pamphlets*, 135, App. III.
,, *Past and Present*, on permanence, 135, App. III.
,, ,, ,, on clothing and cotton, 158, App. III.
,, *Sartor Resartus*, App. III.
rpentry. See s. *Joiner.*
phalopod, the (animal), 38 (*orig. ess.*).
iaris, etymology of, 101 *n.*
iarity, etymology of, and words connected with, App. VI.
,, indiscriminate, App. VI.
iarybdis, true meaning of the myth (Bacon on), 86, 93.
iaucer, enigmatic, 87.
,, on birds, 149 *n.*
,, on largesse, App. VI.
,, villany of, 121 *n.*
ieapness, no such thing as, without error or wrong, 62 *n.*
,, no excuse for bad things, 17 *n.*
,, of glutted market, a disease, 62 *n.*
ieating our neighbours is possible, but is not life or nature, 10.
ierish, etymology of the word, 102.
ioir, etymology of the word, 102.
irist washing disciples' feet, its meaning, 108.
iristianity, modern, and greed of money ("Pay me that thou owest—not"), App. VI.
iurch building, modern craze for, 157.
,, ,, old masons "logeurs du bon Dieu," 157.
icero's political economy, 2.
,, quoted, 60 *n.*
,, ,, Catiline, "non aquâ, sed ruinâ," 124.
d, the, his horse, 35.
rce, fable of, its meaning, 103.
,, not a Siren, her power and function, 91 *seq.* App. V
ties to have fields round them, 159.
audian's pearl, 159 (*orig. ess.*).
othing the poor, 155 *seq.*
inage, purity of, in noble states, 78 *n.* See s. *Athens, Currency.*
mmerce as the agency of exchange, 95, 98.
,, fury of modern, 153 *n.*
,, most important to northern countries, 95.
,, no profit in true, 99.
,, not degrading, 101.
,, the inhumanity of mercenary, 100.
,, the law of international, 97.
mpetition to measure wages, a bestial theory, 136 *n.*
nsols. See s. *Funds.*
rnhill Magazine and *Unto this Last*, *pref.* 20.
rruptio optimi, *e.g.*, in commerce, 100.

Cost defined as the amount of labour necessary to obtain thing, 60.
,, intrinsic and effectual, 61.
,, is price, when demand is constant, 63.
,, the noblest things cost the least, 60.
Cotton, cheap, and rags common, Carlyle on, 158.
,, government asked to supply Manchester with, App. I
Countenance, beauty of, and rightness of action, 6.
Cowley on birds, 149 *n.*
Credit means creed, 81 (*orig. ess. n*).
,, -power of currency, 80.
Creed, use and meaning of the word, 81 (*orig. ess. n*).
Crime, cost of, and of judgment, 116.
,, modern, a national disgrace, 108.
Criminals to do lowest forms of mechanical work, 109.
,, to work in mines, 159.
Critic law, its functions, 116.
Crœsus, 27.
Currency, bases of, better than gold, 77 *seq.*
,, ,, to be small, indestructible, valuable, 74 *s*
,, ,, to be pure, 77.
,, credit-power of, on what dependent, 69.
,, defined, chief definition, 69 *n. seq.*
,, ,, "expression of price in any given article,"
,, ,, "the claim to equivalent of anything, a where, at any time," 70 *seq.*
,, ,, transferable acknowledgment of debt, 81.
,, forced, is taxation in disguise, 78.
,, gold withdrawn from, its effect, 81 *n.*
,, holders of the, 66.
,, increase of the, its effect on industry and wealth,
,, ,, often a form of taxation, 24.
,, ,, laws of, 21 *seq.*
,, medium of exchange, 66.
,, national habits as affecting, 67.
,, national store and, 81 *seq.*
,, national, and value of, 64 *seq.*
,, power of, fourfold (credit, real worth, exchan labour), 80 *seq.*
,, ,, increased by constant exchange, 85.
,, purity of, 77 *n.*
,, soundness of=enlarging debt and means, 82.
,, transferableness of, 69.
,, true and false, distinct from strong and weak, 65.
,, value of, how affected, 58.
,, ,, and its rise and fall, 41 *seq.*
,, and effectual value, 39.
,, vitality and feebleness of, how tested, 70.

urrency, wealth, and accumulation of, made possible by, 72.
ustom, establishment of a, 106.
,, noble and base, action and indolence, 107.
,, "hangs upon us like a weight," 107.

ANTE, enigmas of, 87.
,, on avarice and prodigality, 88.
,, ,, fortune's ball in, 100 *n.*
,, ,, the power of money, 58.
,, ,, use and abuse of riches, 88 *seq.*
,, ,, usury, 88.
,, scorn of the populace, on what based, 109 *n.*
,, similes of, their truth, 58.
Quoted :—
Inf. vii., 88.
Inf. xi. Cahors (usury), 98 *n.*
,, Plutus "gran nemico," 90, A. I. (*orig. ess.*).
,, Sirens, 90.
,, Siren of Riches, 90.
,, the death of Ulysses, 93.
Inf. xvii., 88.
Paradise, 88.
Purg. xix., 88.

ear, etymology of, 101 *n.*
eath, desire to die rich, 153.
ebt and credit, duty and creed, 81 (*orig. ess. n*).
eficiencies and efficiencies, 119.
elphic oracle, *πῆμ' ἐπὶ πήματι*, 127 *n.*
emand, economy not based on supply and, 53.
,, in political economy, defined as affecting price, 63.
,, supply and, Carlyle on, 158.
,, ,, Manchester cotton and, App. IV.
,, what we ought to, an ethical question, 84.
emocracy and republic, distinct, 124.
,, illustrated by flight of beetles, 126.
esire, the objects of right, alone are wealth, 34.
idicisse *fideliter* artes, 124 *n* (*orig. ess.*).
ieu et *mon* droit, 113 *n* (*orig. ess.*).
ishonesty and speculation in finance, 79.
ivine Right, the true, 105.
oge, meaning of, 125 *n.*
raco, his name apt, 120.
reams of great poets and writers, 134.
ress, luxury of, does it enrich a nation ? *pref.* 15 *seq.*
,, ,, instance of parents ruined by their daughter's, *pref.* 16.
uke, its meaning (ducal monarchy), 125 *n.*
uty, use and meaning of the word, 81 (*orig. ess. n*).

ECONOMY. See s. *Political Economy.*
Education, aim of true, 106.
,, ,, to teach men to do right, 130.
,, defined, not science or knowledge, but training c character, 106.
,, ,, peace, pity, and grace implied by, 108.
,, economy of words part of, 101 *n.*
,, laws of, English feeling against, 112.
,, may develop inherited qualities, 6.
Effort, labour is not mere, but suffering in effort, 59.
Emerson, quoted, on monarchy and republics, 124 *n.*
Employment, laws of, 152.
,, practical rules for, 155.
England, early civil wars of, App. I.
,, fear of France in, its annual cost, App. I.
,, feeling in, against educational law, 112.
,, slavery in modern, 131.
,, wealth and poverty of, do they balance each other? 57
Enigmas of great poets and writers, 87.
Equality, the cry for, not irreverence, but folly, 121.
Equivalence of money and money value, 40.
Etymology, interest of, 100 *n.*
Evil never produces good, 33.
Exchange in commerce, costly, and therefore to be limited, 9
,, power of money, 80.
Excursion trains, 159.
Expenditure and exchange, distinct, 155 *n.*
,, selfish and unselfish, 147.

FAITH, etymology and use of the word, 81 (*orig. ess.*), App. V
VI. (*orig. ess.*).
,, works, and modern dispute on, App. VI. (*orig. ess.*).
Fawcett's *Political Economy*, national questions not touche in, *pref.* 15.
,, ,, ,, on national debt and consol *pref.* 18.
,, ,, ,, on rent, *pref.* 17.
Feat and defeat in labour, 59.
Fénelon, Life of, 153 *n.*
Fig-tree, the barren, in Homer and Dante, 93.
Finance, simple enough, to cool heads and honest hearts, 79.
Fine, and "fine" English and French, 134.
Fireworks, national store of, its value, 47.
Fish, climbing perch, 126.
Food, economy of, 18.
Fors *v.* Mors, 118.
,, words connected with, 100 *n.*
Fortune, acquiring of, a form of taxing the poor, 139.

Fortune, making of sudden, 153 *n.*
,, the wheel of, 100 *n.*
France, fear of England, App. I.
,, German war with, 96 *n*, App. I. *n.*
,, luxury of, its example to England, *pref.* 16.
Franchise, proposals for, to be universal, not equal, 129.
Fraser's Magazine and *Munera Pulveris*, *pref.* 20, 94.
Fraud, loss of time spent in, 104.
Freedom, restraint and true, 103.
Free-trade, protection and encouragement, App. IV. (*orig. ess.*).
Funds, national, advantages of, *pref.* 19; 38. See s. *National store.*

GENEVA watches, and wealth, 49.
Goethe speaks in enigmas, 87.
Quoted:—
Faust, Part II., Plutus in, 88.
Lemures, "Wer hat das Haus so schlecht gebaut?" 149.
Gold as a medium of currency, 74 *seq.*
,, effect of withdrawing it from the currency, 81 *n.*
,, labour wasted in obtaining, 75 *n.*
,, use of, only in arts (ornament), not for money, 77 *n.*
,, value of, coined and uncoined, 69.
,, ,, its depreciation, 76.
Good and evil are fixed and absolute, 32.
Government, always costly, 127.
,, by council, visible and invisible, 122.
,, consists in custom, laws, and councils, 106.
,, firmness more than form of, 125.
,, forms of, monarchy, democracy, oligarchy, 123.
,, "for forms of government . . ." its truth shown, 125.
,, history of a, not always that of the nation, 122.
,, interference of, when objected to, when called for, App. IV.
,, names of different, confused and misused nowadays, 123 *seq.*
,, national store of wealth to be kept by, 41.
,, policy of all (whatever its form), "the wise to rule the unwise," 125.
,, railways, &c., to be under, 128.
Graces, the, their function, &c., 191 *seq.*
Gratis and gratia, 100.
Great men go too far in goodness, and so lose influence, 153 *n.*
Greek myths, full of meaning, App. V.
,, tragedians, enigmatic utterances of, 87.

HABIT, meaning of the word, 106.
Happiness, a cause and effect of life, 5.
Heredity of moral and physical qualities, 6.
Herbert, George, quoted :—

"Lift up thy head," &c., 89.
"Correct thy passion," &c., 103.

Hincksey diggings, foreshadowed, 109, 149.
Histoire d'une Bouchée de Pain, quoted, 91.
History, a nation's, not always that of its government, 122.
Holy Ghost, means "helpful and honest," 101 *n*.
Homer, enigmatic, 87.
,, Plato's distrust of, 87.
,, scorn of the populace in, on what based, 109 *n*.
,, quoted or referred to :—

Arete, 134.
Circe and the swine, 91.
Hephæstus and Venus, its meaning, 101.
Phæacia, meaning of, 101.
Scylla and Charybdis, meaning of, 93–4.
Ulysses' shipwreck, App. V.
Sirens, 90, 92.
ὡς ὀπωρινὸς, &c., 124 *n*.

Honesty, the best policy, truth of, 104.
Horace, quoted :—

pinguis Phæaxque, 101.
odi profanum, 109 *n*.
vaga arena—numero carentis, animo rotundum percupisse? } 134 (*orig. ess.*).
Si quis emat citharas, &c., App. III.

Horse-mania, English, why no word for, as for biblio-mania 65.

IDOLATRY, of things and of the phantasm of good, App. II.
Ignorance, no science of, 34.
Illth and health, 37.
Indignation, true punishment and just, 120–1.
Influence of men, invisible, 122.
Iniquity, its general meaning, 110 *n*.
Injury, defined, the worst, unconscious and due to indolence 117–8.
Instinct of reverence and wrath, 121.
Instruments, their value in what, 17.
International fears—one nation of another, App. I.
,, values, and their one law, 96 *n*, 97.
Inundation, as illustrating political economy and wages, 141.
,, of the Arve (Savoy), scheme to check, 147.

DINER, English, at work on London house, useless precision, 151.
udge, his offices of reward and punishment, 111.
ustice, personal and purchased, 116.
,, principles of, and education, App. I.

KINGS as lawgivers, 111.
,, can do no wrong (in what sense true), 113.
,, "divine right" of, 113 (*orig. ess. n*).
,, "rex eris, recte si facies," 105.

LABOUR, capital limits, untrue, 50.
,, defined as the contest of man with an opposite, 59.
,, ,, is not effort, but suffering in effort, 59.
,, ,, "that quantity of our toil which we die in," 59.
,, division of, its principles illustrated, 63.
,, economy of, not sale, to be considered by Political Economy, 59.
,, kinds of, in different climates, 96.
,, law of, in youth and age, 152.
,, manual (especially agricultural) to be done by upper classes, 109.
,, money's power over, 80.
,, not to be bought or sold, 59.
,, the origin of value, *pref.* 5.
Laissez faire and aller, baseness of modern, 108.
,, ,, doctrine, App. I.
,, ,, Carlyle on, 158.
Land, best, that most beautiful in men, animals, and flowers, 16.
,, its enjoyment cannot, like money, be monopolised, 85.
,, ownership of, *pref.* 17.
,, the people driven off the, in England, 131 *n*.
,, value of, physically (in produce), intellectually (in beauty), 16.
,, waste, 115.
,, ,, to be brought in by volunteer labour, 149.
Language, accurate and loose use of, its effect, 101 *n*.
Largesse, Chaucer on, App. VI.
Law, archic, meristic, and critic, 110–6.
,, art of, a noble discipline and profession, 106.
,, cost of national, 116.
,, educational, not criminal only, 112.
,, fatal character of all, 110 *n*.
,, formatory, not reformatory, 112.
,, impossible for it to cover all points of conduct, 112.
,, to regulate keeping of land, water, and air, 115.
,, cannot remedy political mischief, 98.
,, to enforce security of property, 67.

Law, true scientific, and false political economy, xiv. 12.
,, stands by right alone, 113.
,, is either statute or judgment, 111.
Lawyers, the profession of the law, felt to be noble, 116.
Leucothea's veil, App. V.
Liberty, true, is in restraint, 103.
Libraries, free, to be established, 115.
Life, a cause and effect of happiness, 5.
,, healthy and happy, the end of political economy, 5.
,, human, is naturally harmonious, 6.
,, the law of human, and work, 10.
,, what things shorten or prolong man's, 8.
Lincolnshire coast to be embanked, 149.
Lithographs, and Tintorets, their relative value, *pref.* 5.
Loans, foreign, and wars, 19.
,, national, their nature, 38.
Love, capacity for infinite, in man, 121.
,, comes only from harmony, 102.
Lower classes, are they really lower? 109 *n.*
Lucian, on sale of lives, 132 *n.*
Lucum ligna, 124.
Luxury, does it benefit the poor, *pref.* 16.
,, economy of, 18.
,, modern, criminally great, 155.
,, producing of, is not wealth, *ib.*

MACHINERY, its true value and proper work, 17.
Maintenance of a state, defined, 3.
Mammon, true meaning of, App. II.
Man, difference between man and, in nature and training, 106
,, perfection of, unites body, passions, intelligence, 8.
,, worth and power of, a better study than their opposites 119.
Mausolus, 27.
Mechanical work, distress of, due to failure and degradation 109.
,, ,, inconsistent with nobleness of race, *ib.*
,, ,, Dante, Shakspeare, and Homer on, *ib. n.*
,, ,, See s. *βαναυσία.*
Medicine, the economy of, 18.
Mens sana in corpore sano, the true doctrine, 6.
Merchants, agents of exchange, not to look for large profits, 98.
Mercy and merces, 100.
Meristic law fixes what all should and do possess, 114.
Merit, a better study than demerit, 119.
Mill, J. S., "Political Economy," quoted :—
def. of wealth, *pref.* 1.
on currency, Book iii. cap. 7, 77 *n.*

Milton, inferior to Homer and Dante, 87.
Quoted:—
"Thrones, Dominations, &c.," 105.
Mines, criminals to work in the, 159.
,, to be made safe, 159.
Misery of the poor, a national disgrace, 108.
Molyneux (Rev. —), on parable of the prodigal son, App. V.
Monarchy and tyranny, 133.
,, compared to a ship, republic to a raft, 124 *n.*
Money, accumulation of, is not political economy, 4.
,, ,, its temptations, 85-6.
,, credit-power of, 58 and *n.*
,, defined, a documentary legal claim to wealth, 21.
,, ill-gotten, ill spent, 86.
,, its enjoyment, secure and solitary, 85.
,, its study, 11.
,, love of, founded on a desire for things, 65 *n.*
,, modern greed of, 153.
,, love of, inconsistent with high moral training, 108.
,, -making, men to stop when they have enough, 153.
,, possessor of much, generally has no fixed tastes, 85.
,, property and, which the end, which the means? 83.
,, to be spent by those who make it, 153.
,, value of, how affected, 58.
,, ,, altered by change in national character, and why, 65.
,, ,, change in, 22 *seq.*
,, ought not to be intrinsically valuable with civilised people, 25.
,, is not wealth, 21, 36. See s. *Currency.*
Museums, free to be established, 115.

NAPOLEON I. on usury, 98.
Nations, divisible into lordly and servile classes, 109.
,, government and, correlatively noble, 122.
,, happiness of, not dependent on its numbers, 3.
National character, how indicated (its customs), 106.
,, ,, individual influences on, 122.
,, credit, to pay ready money like individuals, 38 *n.*
,, debt and national store, *pref. seq.* 18 *seqq.*
,, ,, does it enrich a nation, *pref.* 15, 18.
,, ,, would the discovery of a mountain of gold efface it? 76.
,, economy, on what dependent, 54.
,, expenditure and taxation, right objects of, 156.
,, health, compared to a great lake or sea, 109 *n.*
,, loss, explained, 155 *n.*

National store and wealth, 40, 44.
,, ,, its nature and holders, 46 *seq.*
,, ,, population, 54.
,, training, high, what it implies, 108.
National gallery, a treasury, not a school, of art, 115.
Nightingale's song "Domine Labia," 149 *n.*

Oligarchy, 123.
Orinoco, 37.

Pall Mall Gazette, Oct. 27, 1871 (Jules Simon on Paris xviii. 16.
Paris, siege of, referred to, ix. 6.
,, ,, relief of, 1871 committee, xii. 10.
Parliament, Houses of, waste of labour, 157.
Pay, amount of, asked for by the best men, is small, 60 (*orig. ess.*).
,, and profit distinct, 98 *n.*
,, work that will not pay in money, but in life, 160.
Peace, grace essential to, 100.
Pelicans and climbing perch, 126.
Philotimé. See s. *Spenser.*
Phlegethon, sands of, 79.
Plato's enigmas, 87.
,, distrust of Homer, 87.
,, imagination quenched by his reason, 87.
,, political economy of, 2.
,, Sirens in, 90.
,, usury in, 98.
,, quoted, "Laws," Book 1, on Plutus, 88.
,, ,, ,, ,, 2, on choirs, dancing, &c 102 *n.*
,, ,, ,, ,, 5, on money, 153 *n.*
,, ,, "Republic," the slave who wants to marry h master's daughter, 134.
,, ,, ,, Book 2, ὑῶν πόλις, 91.
,, ,, ,, ,, 3, on money, 89.
,, ,, ,, ,, 4, on political evils and the remedies, 98.
,, ,, ,, ,, 6 *seq.*, on mechanical labou 109 *n.*
Plinlimmon, plant with larch, 149.
Plutus, god of riches, blind, in Plato, Dante, Spenser, an Goethe, and in Dante, dumb, 88, A. I. (*orig. ess.*).
Poets, the great, speak in enigmas, 87.
,, ,, their *visionary* language about great truth deprecated, 87.

Political Economy, modern, described, 2.
,, ,, ,, faith in, tested, 128.
,, ,, ,, does not deal with national dress, rent, debt, &c., *pref.* 15.
,, ,, ,, looks only at the *exchange* value of wealth, *pref.* 7.
,, ,, ,, has never dealt with intrinsic value, *pref.* 8.
,, ,, ,, fallacy that labour is a saleable commodity, 59.
,, ,, ,, in America, 124.
,, ,, true, defined, *pref.* 1, 13.
,, ,, ,, does not give sentiment for science, *pref.* 13.
,, ,, ,, ethical postulates of, *pref.* 13, 81, 84.
,, ,, ,, founded on industry, frugality, and discretion, *pref.* 13.
,, ,, ,, knowledge of fine arts necessary to, *pref.* 1.
,, ,, ,, its end, to multiply noble life, not money, 4, 7.
,, ,, ,, not concerned with varying worth of bullion, 25.
,, ,, ,, to examine *moral* results of the laws of wealth, *pref.* 21.
,, ,, ,, to maintain a relation between supply and demand, *pref.* 11.
,, ,, See s. *Author* (*Books*, "*Munera Pulveris*"), *Bacon*, *Books*, *Capital*, *Capitalists*, *Cheapness*, *Commerce*, *Competition*, *Cost*, *Credit*, *Currency*, *Demand*, *Dishonesty*, *Dress*, *Employment*, *Exchange*, *Expenditure*, *Fawcett*, *Finance*, *Free-trade*, *Funds*, *Gold*, *Labour*, *Land*, *Loans*, *Luxury*, *Mechanical Work*, *Merchants*, *Mill* (*J. S.*), *Money*, *National Character*, *Possession*, *Poverty*, *Price*, *Production*, *Profit*, *Property*, *Rich*, *Riches*, *Supply*, *Use*, *Usury*, *Value*, *Wages*, *War*, *Wealth*, *Worth*.
Political evils, the remedy for, in change of character, not of laws, 98.
Poor, the, directed by the rich, 29.
,, ,, governed by the rich, 146.
,, ,, number of, in relation to the rich, 138.
Pope, quoted:—
"For forms of government," &c., 125.
Epistle to Lord Bathurst, on currency, 77 *n.*

Population, extent of, in relation to national store, 54.
,, ,, ,, wealth, 55.
Portion, words connected with, 101 *n.*
Possession, defined, the legal right to keep what you hav
worked for, 141 and *n.*
,, guardianship and, distinct, 37.
,, useless without use, 37.
Poverty, always criminal, English doctrine, 136 *n.*
,, merely relative, 26.
,, wretched and blessed, 56 *n.*
Price, defined, 62 *n.*
,, is cost, if demand be constant, 63.
,, on what dependent (human will), 62.
,, one just value and, for everything, 62 *n.*
Production, ease of, only valuable so far as it enables the main
tenance of more population, 62 *n.*
Profit, none, in true commerce, 99.
Property, fivefold, power over, 37.
,, money and, which the end, and which the means
83.
,, security of, the first end of law, 67.
Punishment, true, in hindrance, 120 *n.*
Pyramid of gold may be worthless, 4.
Pyrrhon's answer, 132.

Race, faculties dependent on, 106.
Railways, companies are turnpike keepers, 128.
,, excursion trains, government control of, 157.
,, quadruple lines needed, 128.
,, trains, 157.
,, station architecture, 128.
Recreate, force of the word, 9.
Religion, plain speaking on, objected to, 101 *n.*
Rent, does a land-tax enrich a nation? *pref.* 15, 17.
Republic compared to a raft (Emerson), 124.
,, distinct from democracy, 124.
,, res publica and privata, 124.
Reverence, instinctive, just, and true reward, 120–1.
Revolution, how caused, 109 *n.*
Reward, true, is at once a help and a crown, 120 *n.*
Rich, direct the poor, 29.
,, govern the poor, 146.
,, relation to poor, 136 *seq.*
Riches, does the mode of their distribution affect their nature, 27.
,, of one man involve the subjection of others, 145.
,, relativity of, 26.
,, selection, direction, and provision, 29.
,, their study, 11.

iches, to be collected and administered by economists, 27, 29.
ight, a man's, defined, 118.
,, and wrong are life and death to man, 9.
oyal means right doing, 113.

r. JOHN'S locusts, 130.
ale is not commerce, 99.
avings, the use of a man's, 152. See s. *Death.*
chool, true meaning of, 109 *n.*
corpion whips, our pleasant vices, 130.
cylla and Charybdis, meaning of, 93.
ensibility defined, 106.
ervants, all who work for pay are, 145.
hakspeare, his dreams, divine shadows of true facts, 134.
,, speaks in enigmas, 87.
,, the leader of English intellect, 100.
,, his scorn of the populace, on what based, 109 *n.*
,, his nomenclature, 100 *n*, 134 *n.*
,, ,, ,, Greek names, 100 *n*, 134 *n.*
Referred to :—

Cymbeline, Iachimo, meaning of name, 134 *n.*
,, Leonatus, 134 *n.*
,, moral of, 134 *n.*
Hamlet, meaning of the name (home), 134 *n.*
,, Ophelia=serviceableness, 134 *n.*
,, quoted, "A ministering angel," &c., 134 *n.*
,, ,, "Herb o' grace o' Sundays," App. VI.
King Lear, Cordelia=heart-lady, 100 *n.*
,, quoted :
v. 3. "our pleasant vices . . . scourge us."
Merchant of Venice, its lesson, 100.
,, ,, meaning of, 134.
,, ,, Portia—portion, 100 and *n.*
,, ,, Antonio, nobility of, 100.
,, ,, Shylock, 100.
Much Ado about Nothing, Beatrice, meaning of, 134 *n.*
,, ,, Benedict, meaning of, 134 *n.*
Othello, catastrophe of, how caused, 134 *n.*
,, meaning of name, 134 *n.*
,, Desdemona, meaning of, 134 *n.*
,, Iago, meaning of, 134 *n.*
Tempest, analysis of, 134 *seq.*
,, Ariel=generous faithful service, 133–4.
,, Caliban, 133–4.
,, ,, and slavery and freedom, 133–4.
,, Miranda "the wonderful," 134.
,, Prospero=hope, 134.
,, Sycorax=swine-raven, 134 and *n.*
,, quoted :
dew brushed with raven's feather, 134.
incensed seas and shores, 134.
put a girdle round the earth, 134.

Shakspeare, *referred to* (*continued*):—
Tempest, quoted:
fetches dew . . . asleep, 134.
thought is free, 134.
full fathom, &c., 134.
come unto these yellow sands, 134.
"courtesied," 134.
all but mariners, 134.
with bemocked-at, &c., 134.
where the bee sucks, 134.
side stitches, &c., 134.
that's a brave god, &c., 134.
Two Gentlemen of Verona, Proteus, name, 134 *n.*
,, ,, Valentine, name, 134 *n.*
Winter's Tale, Hermione, name, 134 *n.*
,, ,, Perdita=lost lady, 134 *n.*

Ships, English, with defences *v.* liquid fire, 127.
Sirens or pleasures, Bacon's view of, 90.
,, ,, are really desires, 90.
,, and Circe, distinct, 92.
,, their destructive power, 92.
Sillar, W. C., on usury, 98 and *n.*
Simon, M. Jules, on Paris, xviii. 16.
Slavery, American and English methods of, 131.
,, modern, examples of, 124 *n.*
,, not a political institution, 133.
,, right and wrong, considered, 130 *seq.*
,, true nature of, in its cramping, 134.
Socialism, modern, *pref.* 21.
Soldiers, men are ready to die, but not to spend money their country, 148.
Soul and body, not really opposed, 6.
Speculation=peculation, 79.
,, evils of, 153 *n.*
Spenser quoted, 93.
,, his Philotimé, 93.
,, ,, Plutus, 88.
Splendour of living, what it involves to others, 145.
Sport, shooting of birds, 149.
State, maintenance of a, defined, 3.
Steam-agriculture, 149.
,, -power, its true use, 159.
Store, national, in relation to the currency, 81 *seq.*
Stork and frogs, fable of, and tyranny, 126.
Streams, not to be defiled, 115.
Success, under competition, its meaning, 139.
Supply and demand, fallacy of (siege of Paris), *pref.* 9 *seq.*
,, ,, results of (Paris print-shops), viii. 4.
,, ,, doctrine, 124.

'AXATION, currencies may be disguised, 78.
'ennent, Sir Emerson, "Ceylon" quoted, 126.
'imes, June 4, 1862, on killing of birds, 149 *n.*
,, Dec. 25, 1862, on modern civilisation and revolution, 108 *n.*
,, Feb. 4, 1863, on average earnings of the poor, 124 *n.*
'intoret, author's estimate of, 1851–71, *pref.* 4.
,, pictures of, and Paris lithographs, *pref.* 5.
,, ,, in shreds, S. Rocco, 1851, *pref.* 3.
'isiphone, the rule of, 130.
'obacco, 65 *n.*
'rade has come to mean=fraud, 99.
,, meaning of word, and traitor, 99.
'radesmen are the servants of their customers, 145.
'rionfo della Morte, 48.
'rust, meaning of the word, 81 (*orig. ess. n*).
'ruths, the great poets veil their greatest, in enigma, 87.
'yranny, illustrated by fable of frogs and stork, 126.
,, and monarchy, 123.

'LYSSES, Dante on death of, 93.
,, and the Sirens, their appeal to his vanity, 92
'se, possession without, is valueless, 37.
,, power of, essential to wealth, 37.
'seful and useless, defined, 8.
'sury, abolition of, by purifying national character, 98.
,, author's first notes on, 148 *n*, 41 (*orig. ess.*).
,, Dante on, 88.
,, essence and evil of, 98 and *n.*
,, French economists on, 148 *n.*
,, Greek and mediæval horror of, 98 *n.*
,, Plato, Bacon, and Napoleon I. on, 98.
,, Shakspeare on (*Merchant of Venice*), 100.

'ALUE, definition of, 12 *seq.*
,, distinct from cost or price, 12.
,, effectual, defined, and wealth and currency, 39.
,, ,, depends on use, and power to use, 14.
,, international, 96 *n.*
,, intrinsic, at base of true political economy, *pref.* 8–9.
,, ,, and effectual, 12 *seq.*
,, ,, worth makes value, not demand or money, 31
,, just, everything has its, 62.
,, list of things of, 15.
'enice, coinage of, pure, 75 *n*, 77 *n.*
,, S. Rocco, Tintorets there in shreds, 1851, 3.
'ices, our pleasant, scorpion whips, 130.

Virgil, Tityre tu patulæ, &c., 149.
,, quæ maxima turba, 88.
Virtues, the four cardinal, App. I.
Visions of great poets on great truths, 87.
Volunteer labour, objects of, proposed, 149.
,, movement, to be extended beyond war, 149.
Votes, number of a man's votes to be increased with his a
&c., 129.

Wages, competition not to determine, *pref.* 12.
,, defined by modern political economy as "the s
which will maintain the labourer," 136.
,, equality of, depends on moral conditions, 137.
,, principles of, illustrated by story of inundation, 141.
War, cheap, proposed, 128.
,, fostered by capitalists to make investments, *pref.* 19.
,, idleness of upper classes, a cause of, 149 *n.*
,, ill-accumulated money spent in, 86.
,, the necessity of, amongst unjust persons only, A. II.
Wealth, attainment of great, impossible by one man, 139.
,, ,, modern trickery of, *pref.* 13.
,, ,, wish to die rich, 153.
,, caprice will not make a thing, 35.
,, defined, 11 *seq.*
,, ,, as "a thing of value in the hands of th
who can use it" (valuable and valiant),
,, ,, "intrinsic value developed by vital power,"
,, ,, "the constant objects of right desire," 34.
,, ,, Mill's definition criticised, *pref.* 1.
,, ,, few people realise what true wealth is, *pref.*
,, desire of, true wealth is moderately desired, *pref.* 21.
,, effectual value, and, 39.
,, exchangeability, and distinct, 35.
,, luxury and, see s. *Luxury.*
,, money, and distinct, 36.
,, national wealth not only in amount, but in the pow
to use it, 27 *n.*
,, national character, its importance to the distributi
of wealth, 84.
,, the phantasm of, 38.
,, the possession of, who are the possessors of wealth,
nationally more important than its amount, 84.
,, its possession always conditional, 115.
,, to be the reward of sagacity and work, 129.
,, the saving up of, 153.
Whewell, Dr., on usury, 148 *n.*
Wine, English expenditure in, why no word "oino-maniac
65.

Vise, John R., on meaning of Sycorax (see Shakspeare), 134 *n.*
Vords, accurate use of, by great thinkers, 2.
,, derivation of, App. VI.
,, first meaning of, often the truest, 2.
Vork, good, to be got by willingness, not money, 50 *n.*
,, wise or foolish, results in life or death, 10.
Vorth, the recognition of, in others, to be sought after, 121.
,, ,, the first thing in a nation, 121.
,, of things, not dependent on price, *pref.* 7.

ENOPHON'S *Political Economy*, 2.
,, *Economist*, on βαναυσία, 109 *n.*
,, ,, on wealth and use, App. III.
,, *Memorabilia*, Book II. on grace and equity, 100.

ECCHIN, pure gold of Venetian, 77 *n.*

THE END

NWIN BROTHERS, LIMITED, THE GRESHAM PRESS, LONDON AND WOKING

THE WORLD'S CLASSICS

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

The World's Classics

THE best recommendation of *The World's Classics* is the books themselves, which have earned unstinted praise from critics and all classes of the public. Nearly five million copies have been sold, and of the volumes already published very many have gone into a second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, or later impression. It is only possible to give so much for the money when large sales are certain. The clearness of the type, the quality of the paper, the size of the page, the printing, and the binding—from the cheapest to the best—cannot fail to commend themselves to all who love good literature presented in worthy form. That a high standard is insisted upon is proved by the list of books already published and of those on the eve of publication. Many of the volumes contain critical introductions written by leading authorities.

A NUMBER of the volumes are issued in the *Oxford Library of Standard Works*, the size and type as *The World's Classics*, but bound in antique leather, in Italian, thin boards, gilt design, gilt top, and in Suède yapp edges, gilt top, each with bookmarker. These are specially recommended for presentation. (The volumes are obtainable only through the booksellers.)

cket size, 6 × 3¾ inches. Large type, on thin opaque paper. btainable either in superfine art cloth or sultan-red leather.

LIST OF THE SERIES

he figures in parentheses denote the number of the book in the series

schylus. The Seven Plays. Translated by LEWIS CAMPBELL. (117)

nsworth (W. Harrison). The Tower of London. (162)

Kempis (Thomas). Of the Imitation of Christ. (49)

sakoff (Serghei). Trans. J. D. DUFF.
A Russian Gentleman. (241) Years of Childhood. (242)
A Russian Schoolboy. (261)

ocrypha, The, in the Revised Version. (294)

istophanes. Frere's translation of the Acharnians, Knights, Birds, and Frogs. Introduction by W. W. MERRY. (134)

nold (Matthew). Poems. Intro. by Sir A. T. QUILLER-COUCH. (85)

relius (Marcus). Thoughts. Trans. J. JACKSON. (60)

sten (Jane). Emma. Introduction by E. V. LUCAS. (129)

con. The Advancement of Learning, and the New Atlantis. Introduction by Professor CASE. (93) Essays. (24)

rham. The Ingoldsby Legends. (9)

rrow (Sir John). The Mutiny of the Bounty. (195)

tham-Edwards (M.). The Lord of the Harvest. (194)

ackmore (R. D.). Lorna Doone. Intro. by Sir H. WARREN. (171)

rrow. The Bible in Spain. (75) Lavengro. (66)
The Romany Rye. (73) Wild Wales. (224)

ontë Sisters.
Charlotte Brontë. Jane Eyre. (1) Shirley. (14) Villette. (47)
The Professor, and the Poems of Charlotte, Emily, and Anne Brontë. Introduction by THEODORE WATTS-DUNTON. (78)
Life of Charlotte Brontë, by E. C. GASKELL. (214)
Emily Brontë. Wuthering Heights. (10)
Anne Brontë. Agnes Grey. (141)
The Tenant of Wildfell Hall. (67)

own (Dr. John). Horae Subsecivae. Intro. by AUSTIN DOBSON. (118)

owning (Elizabeth Barrett). Poems: A Selection. (176)

owning (Robert). Poems and Plays, 1833–1842. (58)
Poems, 1842–1864. (137)

ckle. The History of Civilization. 3 vols. (41, 48, 53)

nyan. The Pilgrim's Progress. (12)

rke. 6 vols. Vol. I. General Introduction by Judge WILLIS and Preface by F. W. RAFFETY. (71)
Vols. II, IV, V, VI. Prefaces by F. W. RAFFETY. (81, 112–114)
Vol. III. Preface by F. H. WILLIS. (111)
Letters. Selected, with Introduction, by H. J. LASKI. (237)

rns. Poems. (34)

ron. Poems: A Selection. (180)

Carlyle. On Heroes and Hero-Worship. (62)
Past and Present. Introduction by G. K. CHESTERTON. (153)
Sartor Resartus. (19)
The French Revolution. Intro. C. R. L. FLETCHER. 2 vols. (125,
The Life of John Sterling. Introduction by W. HALE WHITE. (

Cellini (Benvenuto). Memoirs, written by himself. (300)

Cervantes. Don Quixote. 2 vols. With a frontispiece. (130, 131)

Chaucer. The Works of. 3 vols. Vol. I (42); Vol. II (56); Vol. I
containing the whole of the Canterbury Tales (76)

Cobbold. Margaret Catchpole. Intro. by CLEMENT SHORTER. (1

Coleridge. Poems. Introduction by Sir A. T. QUILLER-COUCH. (

Collins (Wilkie). The Woman in White. (226)

Congreve. The Comedies, with Introduction by BONAMY DOBRÉE. (2
The Mourning Bride; and Miscellanies. (277)

Cooper (J. Fenimore). The Last of the Mohicans. (163)

Cowper. Letters. Selected, with Introduction, by E. V. LUCAS. (1

Crime and Detection: Stories selected by E. M. WRONG. (301)

Czecho-Slovak Short Stories. Translated, with a preface, by MA
BUSCH. (288)

Darwin. The Origin of Species. With a Note by GRANT ALLEN. (

Defoe. Captain Singleton. Intro. by THEODORE WATTS-DUNTON. (
Robinson Crusoe. (17)

De Quincey. Confessions of an English Opium-Eater. (23)

Dickens. Barnaby Rudge. (286) Christmas Books. (30
Edwin Drood. (263) Great Expectations. 6 Illustrations. (12
Hard Times. (264) Old Curiosity Shop. (270) Oliver Twist. 24 Ill.
Pickwick Papers. With 43 Illustrations. 2 vols. (120, 121)
Tale of Two Cities. With 16 Illustrations by 'PHIZ'. (38)

Disraeli (Benjamin). Sybil. With an Introduction by WALTER SICH
(291)

Dobson (Austin). At Prior Park, &c. (259)
Eighteenth-Century Vignettes. Three Series. (245-7)
Four Frenchwomen. (248) Old Kensington Palace, &c. (2
A Paladin of Philanthropy, &c. (256) Rosalba's Journal, &c. (2
Selected Poems. (249) Side-walk Studies. (257)

Dufferin (Lord). Letters from High Latitudes. Illustrated. (158)

Eliot (George). Adam Bede. (63) Felix Holt. (179)
Romola. (178) Scenes of Clerical Life. (155)
Silas Marner, &c. (80) The Mill on the Floss. (31)

Emerson. English Traits, and Representative Men. (30)
Essays. Two Series. (6) Nature; and Miscellanies. (236)

English Critical Essays. (Nineteenth Century.) (206)
(Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries.) (240)

English Essays. Chosen and arranged by W. PEACOCK. (32)

English Essays, 1600-1900 (Book of). Chosen by S. V. MAKOW
and B. H. BLACKWELL. (172)

English Essays, Modern. Chosen by H. S. MILFORD. (280)

nglish Letters. (Fifteenth to Nineteenth Centuries.) (192)

nglish Prose. Chosen and arranged by W. PEACOCK.
Mandeville to Ruskin. (45) Wycliffe to Clarendon. (219)
Milton to Gray. (220) Walpole to Lamb. (221)
Landor to Holmes. (222) Mrs. Gaskell to Henry James. (223)

nglish Prose: Narrative, Descriptive, and Dramatic. (204)

nglish Short Stories. Two Series. (193, 228)

nglish Songs and Ballads. Compiled by T. W. H. CROSLAND. (13)

nglish Speeches, from Burke to Gladstone. (191)

ielding. Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon, &c. Intro. A. DOBSON. (142)

rancis (St.). The Little Flowers of St. Francis. In English Verse by J. RHOADES. (265)

ranklin (Benjamin). Autobiography. (250)

roude (J. A.). Short Studies on Great Subjects. First Series. (269)

alt (John). The Entail. Introduction by JOHN AYSCOUGH. (177)

askell (Mrs.). Introductions by CLEMENT SHORTER.
Cousin Phillis, and Other Tales, &c. (168)
Cranford, The Cage at Cranford, and The Moorland Cottage. (110)
Lizzie Leigh, The Grey Woman, and Other Tales, &c. (175)
Mary Barton. (86) North and South. (154)
Right at Last, and Other Tales, &c. (203)
Round the Sofa. (190) Ruth. (88) Sylvia's Lovers. (156)
Wives and Daughters. (157) Life of Charlotte Brontë. (214)

hosts and Marvels: a Selection of Uncanny Tales made by V. H. COLLINS, with an Introduction by MONTAGUE R. JAMES. (284)

ibbon. Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. With Maps. 7 vols. (35, 44, 51, 55, 64, 69, 74) Autobiography. (139)

oethe. Faust, Part I (with Marlowe's Dr. Faustus). (135)

oldsmith. Poems. (123) The Vicar of Wakefield. (4)

ray (Thomas). Letters, selected by JOHN BERESFORD. (283)

lawthorne. House of the Seven Gables. (273) The Scarlet Letter. (26)

laydon (Benjamin Robert). Autobiography. With Introduction and Epilogue by EDMUND BLUNDEN. (313)

lazlitt. Characters of Shakespeare's Plays. Introduction by Sir A. QUILLER-COUCH. (205)
Lectures on the English Comic Writers. Introduction by R. BRIMLEY JOHNSON. (124) Lectures on the English Poets. (255)
Memoirs of Thomas Holcroft. (302) Sketches and Essays. (15)
Spirit of the Age. (57) Table-Talk. (5) Winterslow. (25)

lerbert (George). Poems. Introduction by ARTHUR WAUGH. (109)

lerrick. Poems. (16)

lolcroft (Thomas). Memoirs, continued by W. HAZLITT. (302)

lolmes (Oliver Wendell). The Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table. (61)
The Poet at the Breakfast-Table. Intro. Sir W. R. NICOLL. (95)
The Professor at the Breakfast-Table. Intro. Sir W. R. NICOLL. (89)

Homer. Translated by POPE. Iliad. (18) Odyssey. (36)
Hood. Poems. Introduction by WALTER JERROLD. (87)
Horne (R. H.). A New Spirit of the Age. Intro. W. JERROLD. (12
Hume. Essays. (33)
Hunt (Leigh). Essays and Sketches. Intro. R. B. JOHNSON. (115)
The Town. Introduction and Notes by AUSTIN DOBSON. (132)
Irving (Washington). The Conquest of Granada. (150)
The Sketch-Book. Introduction by T. BALSTON. (173)
Johnson (Samuel). Letters, selected by R. W. CHAPMAN. (282)
Lives of the Poets. Intro. A. WAUGH. 2 vols. (83, 84)
Keats. Poems. (7)
Keble. The Christian Year. (181)
Kingsley (Henry). Geoffry Hamlyn. (271) Ravenshoe. (267)
Lamb. Essays of Elia, and The Last Essays of Elia. (2)
Landor. Imaginary Conversations. Selected, with Introduction, Prof. E. DE SÉLINCOURT. (196)
Le Fanu (J. S.). Uncle Silas. With an Introduction by MONTAGUE JAMES. (306)
Lesage. Gil Blas. Ed. J. FITZMAURICE-KELLY. 2 vols. (151, 152)
Letters written in War Time. Selected by H. WRAGG. (202)
Longfellow. Evangeline, The Golden Legend, &c. (39)
Hiawatha, Miles Standish, Tales of a Wayside Inn, &c. (174)
Lytton. Harold. With 6 Illustrations by CHARLES BURTON. (165)
Macaulay. Lays of Ancient Rome; Ivry; The Armada. (27)
Machiavelli. The Prince. Translated by LUIGI RICCI. (43)
Marcus Aurelius. See Aurelius.
Marlowe. Dr. Faustus (with Goethe's Faust, Part I). (135)
Marryat. Mr. Midshipman Easy. (160)
Melville (Herman). Moby Dick. Intro. VIOLA MEYNELL. (225)
Typee. (274) Omoo. (275) White Jacket. Intro. C. VAN DOREN. (2
Mill (John Stuart). On Liberty, &c. Intro. Mrs. FAWCETT. (170)
Autobiography. Intro. H. J. LASKI. (262)
Milton. The English Poems. (182)
Selected Prose. Intro. MALCOLM W. WALLACE. (293)
Montaigne. Essays. Translated by J. FLORIO. 3 vols. (65, 70, 77)
Morier (J. J.). Hajji Baba of Ispahan. With a Map. (238)
Hajji Baba in England. (285)
Moritz (C. P.). Anton Reiser. With Introduction by P. E. MATHESO
(299)
Morris (W.). The Defence of Guenevere, Jason, &c. (183)
Motley. Rise of the Dutch Republic. 3 vols. (96, 97, 98)
Nekrassov. Who can be happy and free in Russia? A Poem. Tran
by JULIET SOSKICE. (213)
Palgrave. The Golden Treasury. With additional Poems, includi
FITZGERALD'S translation of Omar Khayyám. (133)

Peacock (T. L.). Misfortunes of Elphin; and Crotchet Castle. Intro. by R. W. CHAPMAN. (244)

Peacock (W.). English Prose from Mandeville to Ruskin. (45)

English Prose. 5 vols. :—
Wycliffe to Clarendon. (219) Walpole to Lamb. (221)
Milton to Gray. (220) Landor to Holmes. (222)
Mrs. Gaskell to Henry James. (223)
Selected English Essays. (32)

Persian (From the). The Three Dervishes, and Other Stories. (254)

Poe (Edgar Allan). Tales of Mystery and Imagination. (21)

Polish Tales. Trans. by ELSE C. M. BENECKE and MARIE BUSCH. (230)

Prescott (W. H.). The Conquest of Mexico. 2 vols. (197, 198)

Reynolds (Sir Joshua). The Discourses, and the Letters to 'The Idler'. Introduction by AUSTIN DOBSON. (149)

Rossetti (Christina). Goblin Market, Prince's Progress, &c. (184)

Rossetti (D. G.). Poems and Translations, 1850–1870. (185)

Ruskin. (*Ruskin House Editions, by arrangement with Messrs. Allen and Unwin, Ltd.*)
'A Joy for Ever,' and The Two Paths. Illustrated. (147)
Sesame and Lilies, and Ethics of the Dust. (145)
Time and Tide, and The Crown of Wild Olive. (146)
Unto this Last, and Munera Pulveris. (148)

Russian Short Stories. Selected and translated by A. E. CHAMOT. (287)

Scott. Ivanhoe. (29) Lives of the Novelists. Intro. AUSTIN DOBSON. (94)
Poems. A Selection. (186)

Selected English Short Stories. (Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.)
Two Series. (193, 228)

Selected Speeches and Documents on British Colonial Policy (1763–1917). Ed. A. B. KEITH. 2 vols. (215, 216)

Selected Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy (1756–1921). Edited, with Introduction, by Prof. A. B. KEITH. (231, 232)

Selected Speeches on British Foreign Policy (1738–1914). Edited by EDGAR R. JONES, M.P. (201)

Shakespeare. Plays and Poems. Preface by A. C. SWINBURNE. Introductions by EDWARD DOWDEN. 9 vols.
Comedies. 3 vols. (100, 101, 102)
Histories and Poems. 3 vols. (103, 104, 105)
Tragedies. 3 vols. (106, 107, 108)

Shakespeare's Contemporaries. Six Plays by BEAUMONT and FLETCHER, DEKKER, WEBSTER, and MASSINGER. Edited by C. B. WHEELER. (199)

Shakespearean Criticism. A Selection. Ed. D. N. SMITH. (212)

Shelley. Poems. A Selection. (187)

Sheridan. Plays. Introduction by JOSEPH KNIGHT. (79)

Smith (Adam). The Wealth of Nations. 2 vols. (54, 59)

Smith (Alexander). Dreamthorp, with Selections from Last Leaves. Introduction by Prof. HUGH WALKER. (200)

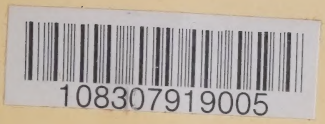
Smollett. Travels through France and Italy. Intro. T. SECCOMBE. (90)
Humphry Clinker. With an Introduction by L. RICE-OXLEY. (290)

Sophocles. The Seven Plays. Trans. LEWIS CAMPBELL. (116)
Southey. Letters. Selected by M. H. FITZGERALD. (169)
Sterne. Tristram Shandy. (40)
Stevenson (R. L.). Treasure Island. (295) Virginibus Puerisque. (25
Kidnapped; and Catriona. (297)
Swift. Gulliver's Travels. (20)
Taylor (Meadows). Confessions of a Thug. (207)
Tennyson. Selected Poems. Introduction by Sir H. WARREN. (3)
Thackeray. Book of Snobs, Sketches and Travels in London, &c. (5
Henry Esmond. (28)
Thoreau. Walden. Introduction by THEODORE WATTS-DUNTON. (6
Three Dervishes, The, &c. Stories from the Persian by R. LEVY. (25
Tolstoy. Translated by LOUISE and AYLMER MAUDE.
A Confession, and What I Believe. (229)
Anna Karenina. 2 vols. (210, 211)
The Cossacks, &c. (208) Essays and Letters. (46)
The Kreutzer Sonata, &c. (266) Plays, complete. (243)
Resurrection. (209) Twenty-three Tales. (72)
War and Peace. 3 vols. (233–5) What then must we do? (28
Tracts and Pamphlets, from John Knox to H. G. Wells. Edited b
A. C. WARD. (304)
Trelawny (E. J.). Adventures of a Younger Son. With an Intro. b
ETHEL COLBURNE MAYNE. (289)
Trollope. An Autobiography. Intro. by MICHAEL SADLEIR. (239)
Barchester Towers. (268) The Belton Estate. (251)
The Claverings. Intro. by G. S. STREET. (252) Doctor Thorne. (29
Framley Parsonage. (305) Miss Mackenzie. (278) Rachel Ray. (27
The Three Clerks. Intro. by W. TEIGNMOUTH SHORE. (140)
The Warden. (217) The Vicar of Bullhampton. (272)
Virgil. Trans. by DRYDEN. (37) Trans. by J. RHOADES. (227)
Walton (Izaak). Lives of Donne, Wotton, Hooker, Herbert, Sanderso
With an Introduction by GEORGE SAINTSBURY.
Watts-Dunton (Theodore). Aylwin. (52)
Wells (Charles). Joseph and his Brethren. With an Introduction b
A. C. SWINBURNE, and a Note by T. WATTS-DUNTON. (143)
White (Gilbert). The Natural History of Selborne. (22)
Whitman. Leaves of Grass: A Selection. Introduction by E. D
SÉLINCOURT. (218)
Whittier. Poems: A Selection. (188)
Wordsworth. Poems: A Selection. (189)

Other Volumes in preparation.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
London Edinburgh Glasgow Copenhagen
New York Toronto Melbourne Cape Town
Bombay Calcutta Madras Shanghai
9/26 Humphrey Milford

BINDING SECT. JUL 2 1975



PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

HB
161
R95
1923
cop.2

Ruskin, John
Unto this last

sig.sam

SIGMUND SAMUEL LIBRARY

UTL AT DOWNSVIEW
D RANGE BAY SHLF POS ITEM C
39 10 06 05 04 001 6